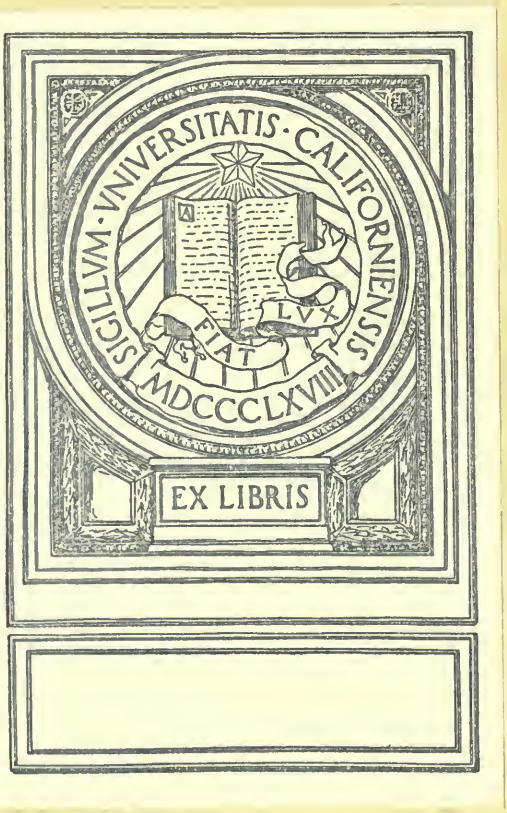



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THE

PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.

BY JOHN BUNYAN.

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A Pilgrim.

From a design by Dellabella. *Edward Offor, delineavit.*

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THE

PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

FROM

THIS WORLD TO THAT WHICH IS TO COME.

DELIVERED UNDER THE SIMILITUDE

OF

A DREAM.

WHEREIN IS DISCOVERED,

THE MANNER OF HIS SETTING OUT;

HIS DANGEROUS JOURNEY, AND SAFE ARRIVAL AT THE DESIRED COUNTRY.

BY JOHN BUNYAN.

ACCURATELY PRINTED FROM THE FIRST EDITION, WITH NOTICES OF ALL THE SUBSEQUENT ADDITIONS AND ALTERATIONS MADE BY THE AUTHOR HIMSELF.

EDITED FOR

The Hanserd Knollys Society,

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY GEORGE OFFOR.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY, BY

J. HADDON, CASTLE STREET, FINSBURY.

M.DCCC.XLVII.

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LONDON:

J. HADDON, PRINTER, CASTLE STREET, FINSBURY.

ADVERTISEMENT.

After twelve months' labour, attended with an anxious wish to do justice to our great pilgrim forefather, John Bunyan, and his wondrous Pilgrimage, this volume is submitted, with respectful deference, to the judgment of the members of the Hanserd Knollys Society.

A correspondence with the late Mr. Southey, when he undertook a similar task, led me to expect great difficulties; an expectation which has been fully realized. He thus expressed himself in a letter addressed to Mr. Major, dated Keswick, 21st March, 1829.[1] "It has put me upon a careful collation of the text, and I do not repent of the unexpected labour which has been thus occasioned, as it will be the means of presenting the work in Bunyan's own vigorous vernacular English, which has been greatly corrupted in the easiest and worst of all ways—that of compositors and correctors following inadvertently their own mode of speech. The copy of Heptinstall's edition has been of use in that collation; and sometimes in the one which goes to press, corrupt as it is, I have found a better reading than in the folio. These are minute pains of which the public will know nothing, but of which a few readers will feel the worth. A *correct* text has appeared to me (who, both as a verseman and a proseman, am a weigher of words and sentences) of so much consequence since I undertook the collation, that I should like to correct the proofs myself." Mr. Major informs us that "every proof-sheet was transmitted to Mr. Southey at Keswick, and the *modern printer*, whom he lately heard exulting in the beauty of a large-paper bound copy, now mellowed and glossy with comparative age, was as happy in minutely following his 'copy' as former *mar-texts* seem to have been in perpetuating, if not engendering, the foulest errors."

[1] Gentleman's Magazine, July, 1844.

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And after all these cares, that beautifully printed volume is full of errors. It must be allowed that Mr. Southey was at a vast distance from the press, and that not having the great advantage of consulting the original editions, he had to weigh the various readings. Finding "Heman" one of the Lord's champions in Heptinstall's edition, changed for Haman in another, and then to Mordecai in a third, he unfortunately preferred the last to the true reading of Bunyan, who had named as the champion the humble unassuming Psalmist Heman.

The edition now presented to the Society is carefully corrected from Bunyan's first copy, which is followed literally, in the orthography, capitals, italics, and punctuation. Every omission or alteration that the author made during his life is noted, as well as the edition in which such alterations first appeared. Where the author in the second part refers to the first his figures are retained, but a reference is added to this edition in parenthesis. All the original wood-cuts are accurately copied by that very excellent and worthy artist, Mr. Thomas Gilks, of Fenchurch Buildings. Every reference has been proved, and where there appeared an evident typographical error it is corrected; but in all such cases the alteration is noted at the foot of the page. Restored to its original state, the reader will find that the colloquial Saxon-English used by John Bunyan is by far the best medium through which his narrative can be told.

The great popular error, with regard to this extraordinary book, has been a notion that no unlettered man, from his own resources, however fertile, could have written it; more especially while shut up in a prison. Let every reader impartially examine the evidence produced in the Introduction, proving that the Pilgrim's Progress was written in prison, and that no sentence or idea was borrowed in its composition: coming to this conclusion, then must he be deeply affected with the consideration that divine teaching, aided by the bible alone, performed that which all previous human learning, however profound, had been unable to accomplish. We may safely conclude that all the author's trials, and sufferings, and deep experience, were intended to fit him for this important work, which no man, fettered with conventional or educational trammels, could have effected.

If the editor has been severe upon a system of compulsory ceremonies, which has ever entailed misery upon all countries

[1] Southey's Edition, p. 170. Heptinstall, 163. Hanserd Knollys Society, 156.

in which it has existed, he pleads his conscientious indignation while reviewing the cruelties practised upon our pilgrim forefathers, and among them upon the high-minded, unflinching, honourable author of the Pilgrim's Progress; who was dragged from the arms of an affectionate family, incarcerated in a damp prison situated upon the bed of a river for nearly thirteen years, and threatened with an ignominious death, for holding and frequenting assemblies for religious worship, sanctioned by the authority of Jesus Christ, but prohibited by Acts of Parliament. The Jews crucified the Saviour, pagans tormented by cruel deaths his disciples, and all state religionists, whether popish or protestant, have offered up to the Moloch UNIFORMITY their holocaust of human victims. Even under the Commonwealth certain tryers were empowered to deprive ungodly, imbecile, traitorous priests, or pluralists, of their livings,—a power which should exist only in the churches under their ministry. Many who have written of Bunyan and his trials have restrained their feelings because these cruelties were perpetrated under the sanction of law. Did Daniel or the Hebrew youths temporise when violation of unholy laws subjected them to the lions' den or fiery furnace? If such writers were called upon by law to worship Mahomet, and deny Christ, would they obey? If required to give up their children as a burnt sacrifice, would they obey? Does God require us with our spirits to obey him, rather than man when human laws trench upon the divine prerogatives? Dare we hesitate? Who is to judge? Who can judge? But the individual whose naked soul must answer for itself, before the judgment-seat of God. Those who seek the yoke of the state merely to aid them in obtaining wealth and honour, under the pretext of curing souls, have ignorantly spoken of dissenters with contempt—and shall not the Christian be faithful to them? We are bound by our allegiance to Christ to seek peace with all men; but we are equally bound to be faithful when dealing with the systems of the oppressor; more especially when he appears as a "man black of flesh, but covered with a very light robe."[1] Our controversy is not with individuals, many of whom are worthy our highest esteem, but who submit to a system, which, in our opinion is opposed to the spread of Christianity. The weapons of our warfare, are not rates, tithes, fines, imprisonments, tortures, or death; but are spiritual, and able to pull down those strongholds which defy all the carnal weapons that ever were or can be invented.

[1] Pilgrim's Progress, p. 159.

If any of my observations are too harsh upon a gentleman who appears publicly to dispute the veracity of Bunyan, and that of his personal and pious friends, I shall regret having made them. But a doubt as to the truthfulness of such a man could not pass unnoticed, and more especially when such doubts had not the slightest foundation in evidence.

My most serious apology is due to the subscribers for so long an Introduction. This apology cannot be made in fewer words than those of Bunyan:

"If *that* thou wilt not read, let it alone."

The great object of exhibiting a correct text has been attained. How far the Introduction may dissipate doubts as to where the Dream was written, or show the school in which the author was trained to compose his immortal Allegory, the reader must judge.

Much yet may be discovered to throw additional light upon this interesting subject: every new fact increases the fame of the humble unassuming author of the Pilgrim's Progress.

To a host of kind and obliging friends I am deeply indebted; to name them all would occupy too much space, but some of these acts of kindness must be personally acknowledged.:—To R. S. Holford, Esq., for the use of the first edition; to W. B. Gurney, Esq., for the second; to Mr. Leslie, for the third; to the executors of my late friend Lea Wilson, Esq.; to R. B. Sherring, Esq., Bristol; to W. Vines, Esq., Leather-sellers' Hall; to Joshua Wilson, Esq., Highbury; to the Rev. J. H. M. Luxmoore; the Rev. R. Philip; Mr. H. Althans, jun.; Mr. Thos. Rodd, and to Mr. Lilley, for the use of rare books. To Sir G. Grey, and to Charles Lechmere, Esq., for the liberal use of the State Papers; to J. B. Lennard, Esq., for extracts from the registers of the Privy Council. To Mr. Bowden and the Society of Friends for access to the royal pardon, and other documents in the archives at Devonshire House; and in common with the whole Christian community, I am under the greatest obligation to Dr. Cheever, for his admirable Lectures on the Pilgrim's Progress.

GEORGE OFFOR.



BEDFORD GAOL.—Situated over the middle of the river Ouse, in which John Bunyan wrote the wondrous DREAM. This Prison was pulled down in 1765: the View was taken in 1761.

INTRODUCTION.

Art thou for something rare, and profitable?
Wouldst thou see a Truth within a Fable?
Art thou forgetful? wouldst thou remember
From New-year's-day *to the last of* December?
Then read my fancies, they will stick like Burs.

BUNYAN'S APOLOGY FOR HIS BOOK.

THE progress of a human being,—possessed of an immortal soul, beset by spiritual foes of deepest subtilty, travelling through an enemy's country,—from its entrance upon the responsible duties of this world, until death ushers it into an eternal existence, either of exquisite happiness or awful misery, is happily represented by a pilgrimage.

The patriarch felt this when he bowed before Pharaoh, and said, "The days of the years of my pilgrimage are . . . few and evil . . . I have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of my fathers in the days of their pilgrimage."[1]

[1] Gen. xlvii. 9.

David sang the statutes of the Lord in the house of his pilgrimage.[2] And after the lapse of ages, when the volume of inspiration was about to close, the inspired apostles continued the simile, "and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth."[3] "I beseech you as strangers and pilgrims, abstain from fleshly lusts;"[4] "See then that ye walk circumspectly;"[5] "So run that ye may obtain."[6] These are instructions that reach every Christian convert in all ages throughout the world. We are warned to be sober, and to be vigilant; because our adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about seeking whom he may devour.[7] "He shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried: be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life."[8]

All mankind are pilgrims: all are hastening through this world. The Christian willingly considers that his life is a journey, because he is seeking a better country; but the greater multitude are anxious to forget that this life is a preparation for futurity; and they shudder when approaching the brink of the grave. Although perpetual examples warn them that suddenly, at a moment when they least expect the fatal catastrophe, it may befall them; still, as if infatuated, they make no inquiry of the Holy Oracles, but take the miserable counsel of "Worldly-Wiseman," to seek a refuge in lies, which death will terribly sweep away; or they wholly neglect any preparation for so important and certain, if not sudden, an event. All are on the advance; time hurries on those whose pilgrimage is limited to the foul but fascinating streets of the "City of Destruction," to their eternal doom; while those who receive the Christian calling press on in the narrow and difficult path that leads to the heavenly Jerusalem.

To condense the instructions given in the inspired writings into a map of the road, a guide or hand-book to the Celestial City, a help to Zion's travellers, and a faithful warning to the votaries who crowd the broad road to ruin, was a labour

[2] Ps. cxix. 54. [3] Heb. xi. 13. [4] 1 Pet. ii. 11. [5] Eph. v. 15.
[6] 1 Cor. ix. 24. [7] 1 Pet. v. 8. [8] Rev. ii. 10.

of love worthy of the highest human intellect, the warmest Christian philanthropy.

It is surprising that a work which so naturally suggests itself to the imagination, and which is of such universal interest, was delayed so long. The abstruse dreams of Jewish Rabbics; the splendid figures that floated before the minds of Oriental and Greek sages; and the intense subtilty of the schoolmen of the middle ages, were intended for a very limited class, including only their immediate disciples. It belonged to a more expanded soul; to one who could with unbounded charity embrace all nations, all tongues, and every people, as brethren in the vast dominions of his God; to one who felt that human happiness would not be perfect until this universe became the kingdom of his Christ.

To write for the instruction of the whole family of man is not the province of a bigoted sectarian, whose visions of happiness extend not beyond his own immediate disciples. Had ancient sages or more modern schoolmen felt the universal pilgrimage of man through time as a very limited period to fit him for an unbounded eternity, surely some of the great and illustrious philosophers of by-gone ages would have attempted to complete an allegory, the outline of which had been given in the earliest of records, the Holy Oracles. No trace, however, has yet been found either in Oriental, Hebrew, Greek, or Latin literature of such an attempt. The honour of producing this extraordinary work was reserved to a later age, and conferred upon an Englishman,—a man, as to human learning, unlettered, but deeply learned in the school of Christ, and profoundly skilled in all the subtilties of the human heart; to a man connected with a denomination, eminent for love of Christian liberty and for hazardous but resolute obedience and conformity to every institute which they found in the New Testament, and therefore everywhere spoken against and bitterly persecuted. This important work, was destined to be accomplished by a preaching mechanic, not vainly claiming, but really possessing, apostolic descent in spirit and in truth, as his works and

afflictions fully proved; to a man, while suffering under the tyranny of Antichrist, whose judges shut him up to languish in a noisome prison for twelve years and a half of the prime of his life, thus vainly attempting to bend his free, his heaven-born spirit, to submit, or pretend to submit, to the absurdities of the Book of Common Prayer; and to bow his neck to that galling yoke of hypocrisy and despotism, state religion, having at its head, at that time, the most debauched monarch in Europe.

The indictment preferred against him was, "That John Bunyan, of the town of Bedford, labourer, hath devilishly and perniciously abstained from coming to church, to hear divine service, and is a common upholder of several unlawful meetings and conventicles, to the great disturbance and distraction of the good subjects of this kingdom, contrary to the laws of our Sovereign Lord the King. To which he pleaded, We have had many meetings together both to pray to God, and to exhort one another; and that we had the sweet comforting presence of the Lord among us for our encouragement, (blessed be his name therefore), I confess myself guilty, no otherwise. No witnesses were examined, but a plea of guilty was recorded, and his sentence was, You must be had back again to prison, and there lie for three months following; and at the three months' end, if you do not submit, and go to church to hear divine service, and leave your preaching, you must be banished the realm: and if, after such a day as shall be appointed you to be gone, you shall be found in this realm, you must stretch by the neck for it, I tell you plainly; and so he [the justice] bid the jailor have him away."[9]

A persecuting hierarchy having been reinstated in power, revived obsolete and tyrannical laws. The mechanic shall not preach or teach. This was the sullen, stern voice of despotic authority. But at the imminent risk of transportation, and even of death, Bunyan had persevered in instructing the peasantry within the reach of his voice. He was, for this and for not attending his parish church, sent to Bedford Gaol,

[9] Bunyan's own account of his imprisonment, p. 27.

and the means that were thus used to prevent his voice from being heard by a few poor labourers, were overruled by God to become the source of most extensive good.

Dragged from the arms of an affectionate wife, who was brought to death's door by painful apprehensions that her husband's life would be sacrificed; bereaved of the company of his children, and of personal communion with the little flock of Christ to which he ministered, this holiest, most harmless, and useful of men, was incarcerated in a gaol, with felons and the worst of characters. But "surely the wrath of man shall praise Thee; the remainder of wrath shalt Thou restrain."[1] Here he finds a resting-place, where, having commended his bereaved wife and infant family to the protection of his Lord, even in that DEN, with a conscience void of offence and full of spiritual peace, he tranquilly reposed, waiting with resignation the will of his heavenly Father.

> "These walls and bars cannot a prison make,
> The freeborn soul enjoys its liberty;
> These clods of earth it may incaptivate,
> Whilst heavenly minds are conversant on high,
> Ranging the fields of blessed eternity."[2]

Free from the mental wretchedness which cankered the souls of his persecutors; one of whom, named Feckenham, whose violent conduct will be presently seen, died miserably while his victim was in prison.[3] And the Christian inhabitants of Bedford looked upon his wretched end as a just judgment of God upon persecutors.

Care should always be taken when we are inclined to notice awful events as judgments. Thus when Charles II. said to Milton, "Your loss of sight is a judgment of God upon you for your sins committed against my father;" the intrepid poet dared to answer, "Does your majesty judge so?

[1] Ps. lxxvi. 10.

[2] From a poem by Stephen Colledge, a preaching mechanic, a few days before he suffered death, August, 1681.

[3] He was called the grand informer, and such were the indignant feelings of his neighbours, that the widow could not hire a hearse, but took his body in a cart to the grave.—Narrative of Proceedings against the Nonconformists at Bedford, small 4to, 1670.

Then how much greater must have been his sins, seeing that I have only lost my sight, while he lost his eyes, and head, and all."

Bunyan's days were spent as happily as the prison discipline would permit. Labouring to provide for his family, studying his Bible, endeavouring to instruct his fellow-prisoners, and writing books, filled up every moment of his time. And HERE his vivid imagination conceives, and his pen writes the wondrous Pilgrimage under the similitude of a Dream. It is afterwards published to the world; and by it he has preached, and is now preaching, not only to the villagers in the neighbourhood of Bedford, but makes known the glad tidings of salvation,—the way of escape from the city of Destruction,—the pilgrim's path to heaven, to millions of every clime.

Thus do the emissaries of Satan ever over-reach themselves. So it was when the Bishop of London paid his gold for a few score of English New Testaments to burn them. The money that Tyndale received from Tonstall enabled him to publish a new and superior edition, corrected in the translation, and which was extensively circulated. Some of these remain to this day,[4] a monument to the piety and talent of the translator, and to the folly of persecution. It led Tyndale to sing,

> "The devilish imps did strive to have,
> For the holy book, a burning grave;
> But all their travail was in vain,
> God multiplied it quick again.
> The pope and devil are scared and wondered,
> Their gold burns one but makes a hundred." [5]

We probably should have heard little of Bunyan,—he might, with thousands of similar valuable characters, have remained unknown, had not the natural enmity of the human heart to the simple but divine truths of Christianity excited wicked men to acts of persecution. Crafty and design-

[4] A copy in my library, and one upon vellum in the British Museum.

[5] On an ancient painting of Tyndale, the martyr, in possession of the Editor, under an emblematical device representing one book burning and a number of similar books jumping out of the fire.



WILLIAM TYNDALE.

THE VENERABLE TRANSLATOR OF THE BIBLE INTO ENGLISH WHO WAS BURNED AT VILVOORD IN THE YEAR 1536. FOR DISSENTING FROM RELIGION AS BY LAW ESTABLISHED.

Engraved by Wm. Dennis. Junr. from a very old painting in the possession of

George Offor Esq.r Grove Street Hackney.

THE SIDE OF THE PORTRAIT IS REPRESENTED THE POPE & SATAN STRIVING TO EXTINGUISH THE LIGHT (AN ALLUSION TO THEIR FRUITLESS ENDEAVOURS TO SUPPRESS THE SCRIPTURE

WITH THESE QUAINT RHYMES

"Out! out! thou hated light.
Shine not on our dark night.
Of mysteries and charms.
Our craft will soon be naught.
If man thy light is taught.
All Hell is in alarms."

On the other side. The burning some New Testaments while many are represented flying about. alludes to the Bishop of Londons having burnt the sacred volumes which he had bought at so high a price as to enable the learned translator to print a revised and numerous edition

AS EXPRESSED IN THE SCROLL THUS

"The devilish imps did strive to have.
For the Holy Books a burning greive.
But all their trouble was in vain.
God multiplied it quick again.
The Pope & Devil are skared & wondred.
Their Gold burns one but makes a hundred."

THE WORDS UNDER THE PORTRAIT ARE FROM TYNDALL'S OWN EXPOSITION OF THE PARABLE OF THE WICKED MAMMON. PUBLISHED 1528 IN WHICH HE PREDICTED HIS PAINFUL DEATH

London Pub.d by Bagster, Pater Noster Row.

ing priests, under the pretence of the cure of souls, engrossed the patronage of the state, enjoyed exalted dignities among their fellow men, and immense wealth. To preserve this worldly eminence, they sought to stay the onward improvement of the human mind and the progress of divine truth. No plan appeared to them better adapted to this end, than one which had been tried and failed, and which is opposed to that pleasing variety which so distinctly appears in all the operations of nature. It was another and more stringent act of uniformity in religion, to prevent personal examination, which is so strictly enjoined in the word of God, upon the mode of access and approach to the throne of grace; to limit all to one dull round of forms and ceremonies; in fine, to demand the entire prostration of the immortal mind before the claim of priestcraft to infallibility. Such a system could only be supported by violence and tyranny. Therefore was it enacted by law that all should constantly attend the parish church, and go through the prescribed service, upon pain of fine, imprisonment, transportation, or death. If any benevolent person, not connected with their sect, was detected in visiting and praying with the sick, teaching the ignorant the way to heaven, comforting the distressed conscience, or converting sinners to holiness, he was doomed to imprisonment, that such useful labours might be stopped. These pretended soul-curers were monopolizers of the worst description, retailing soporific mental food, at an enormous price, slumbering over a formal round of service like a lullaby, to keep the people asleep in their natural and sinful state, while they prevented others from furnishing heavenly warning and nourishment free from tithes, dues, or church rates. Similar attempts had been made before, and the licentious monarch had only to look back to his father's history, and read their dread effects. Experience may make wise men wiser, but will never make fools wise. The attempt was again made, and again it failed, but marked its course with misery and desolation.

By this time the Bible had been widely circulated among the people; education had spread abroad the means of exam-

ining those sacred pages; and a holy ministry under the commonwealth had sown the seed of life. Many felt the powers of the world to come, and upwards of twenty thousand persons had sanctioned the Confession of Faith of the Baptist churches; while multitudes of godly men and women, of other denominations, were also proving the sincerity and truth of their Christian profession by their harmless, benevolent, and pious conduct. Such a course of life secures, generally speaking, some of the comforts of this world; and thirst for plunder might tempt some of their enemies to assist more heartily in this wholesale persecution. Among the first of those upon whom the hand of tyranny fell, was John Bunyan, a man who had determined at all cost to maintain his integrity. With the most inflexible devotion to his Saviour, he preferred death to hypocrisy, and could make no terms with the enemies of his soul's happiness and salvation. He knew the power of state religion; it had crucified his Lord and burned his disciples. Still in the face of the most imminent danger, he refused to pretend to believe that the priest could turn babies into children of God and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven, or that he had power to forgive sins. He dared not conform to ceremonies which were not commanded in holy writ. He could not unite with a system essentially opposed to Christianity, inasmuch as it usurped the throne of God, in wickedly attempting by coercive laws to regulate or direct the mode in which the soul shall publicly worship its Creator, Redeemer, and bountiful Benefactor. Bunyan refused obedience to laws that interfered with the sacred rights of conscience. His free, immortal spirit was not to be confined in the miserable prison of articles, creeds, and confessions, made by fallible mortals, for aught he knew, aided by the evil one. He persevered in his pious, benevolent course, and the tyrants immured him in a prison. Here his God most eminently honoured and blessed him, and by his providence consecrated him to be a guide and companion to Christian pilgrims of every country and every age, while on their way to the city of Zion.

THE FIRST PART OF THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS, WRITTEN IN PRISON.

THAT this singular work was composed in Bedford Gaol is a fact that was universally admitted for more than a century and a half, when a controversy on the subject was raised by the author of the Life and Times of Bunyan. That gentleman, in 1839, stated that "In the case of Bunyan, joy was the strength of his imagination as well as of his heart, when he conducted the Holy War like a Wellington, and his Pilgrim's Progress like a Moses. And this was done, be it remembered, in Bedford Gaol."[5] We do not pretend to understand what meaning Mr. Philip intends to convey by this language: fear appears as much as joy to have been the strength of Bunyan's imagination. We might have understood it better, had the author made Cromwell the guide in the Holy War, and Paul in the Pilgrim. The Holy War was written many years after the author's final release from prison. The only reason for making this extract is to show that the full impression on Mr. Philip's mind was that Bunyan wrote the Pilgrim's Progress while he was a prisoner in Bedford Gaol.

He further states, that "Bunyan's chief *enjoyment* in prison, next to his high communion with God and heaven, was the composition of his Pilgrim's Progress."[6] Mr. Philip surely cannot mean that writing it occupied the author and beguiled his time for twelve years. Bunyan's own account shows that it was quickly finished:

> "Thus I set pen to paper with delight,
> And quickly had my thoughts in black and white."[7]

But supposing him to mean that during some period of his

[5] Life and Times, p. 246.

[6] Philip's Life and Times of Bunyan, p. 393.

[7] Apology.

confinement this book was written, his statement would perfectly coincide with all that had been published upon the subject. His Life and Times of Bunyan, the author states to have been the result of *diligent research;* that his researches were successful beyond his most sanguine expectations; and that he had discovered much that was unknown or unnoticed hitherto. He, with no little self-conceit, says of his work: "It claims, indeed, to be as complete a Life of Bunyan as his own documents or the traditions of his country can furnish:"[8] and within six years confesses that in it he had made some sad blunders. Excepting the question of research, the work is as good as could be expected from one who has little sympathy with the spirit of Bunyan, and who differs with him upon very important topics. Mr. Philip appears not to know the difference between the Strict and the Particular Baptists.[9] He asserts that Bunyan "had offended the whole body of the General Baptists."[1] With that body he was never connected, and had no controversy. He considers that had Bunyan "not been a Baptist, he would have written little more than his Pilgrim and Holy War,"[2] other sects having profounder theologians! He praises the Book of Common Prayer, which contains in it what Bunyan considered awful delusions, such as the forgiveness of sins by the priest, baptismal regeneration, and other absurdities bordering upon blasphemy; and he even seems to hanker after the use of it in his own chapel.[3] Bunyan, at the risk of his life, exhorted the people of God not to touch the Common Prayer; and Mr. Philip says, "This was in bad taste, certainly;"[4] and then quibbles about the people of God not being the people of the realm! and therefore that he had not offended the law. His volume is, however, the best collection of materials that we have, and will aid some future historian, who, possessing the spirit and principles of that

[8] Preface, vi.

[9] Strict in practice as to *communion;* particular in doctrine, in opposition to general *redemption*,

[1] Critique, p. xxv.

[2] Page 249.

[3] Page 360.

[4] Page 318.

most illustrious man, may give to the world a valuable history of his life and times.

Within a very few years after Mr. Philip had made known to the public the result of his *diligent researches,* he appears to have been troubled with some *ignis fatuus,* which he mistook for a new light as to the place where the Pilgrimage was written. This he published in his Critique on the Writings and Genius of Bunyan.[4] And in it he slily says of Bunyan's poetry, "as no one reads his rhymes now, I say nothing about them!"[5] As some of these rhymes, in the Author's Apology, convey to us the circumstances under which the Pilgrim's Progress was written, it might have been better to have read them; but here we have a sweeping denunciation of these rhymes, followed by, "I say *nothing* about them." He further says, "that Bunyan did as much justice to the Reign of Grace as his Calvinism would allow him!"[6] We can pardon Mr. P., supposing him to be connected with a neighbouring island,—for saying that the germs of a work *appeared* in the Strait Gate *a year before it was written;*[7] but we cannot pass by his insinuation that Charles Doe, Bunyan's personal friend, endeavoured to mislead the public as to the place where the Pilgrim's Progress was written. The new light thus glimmers forth: "I was unwilling to be awakened from the popular dream, that the Pilgrim was *written* as well as conceived in Bedford Gaol; for I never heard or suspected anything else, until Doe's dates, taken from Bunyan's 'own reckoning,' came into my hands; and then 500 pages of my Life of him were stereotyped."[8] Where were the author's diligent researches made? Doe's dates were in the British Museum, and in many libraries. And if 500 pages were stereotyped when the discovery was made, why not, before the volume was published, have recast a few of those pages, and not have sent forth what he considered to be a false statement? He also says, "Thus both

[4] Published by Nelson, in 1845.
[5] Page xvi.
[6] Page xxix.
[7] Page v.
[8] Page xxx.

conjecture and imagination are left quite at liberty to fancy when, and how much [of] the *design* was formed in prison; and, what is better, it is now certain that the book itself was written in Bunyan's own cottage at Elstow, which will from henceforth be a more sacred spot than ever."[9] Mr. Philip goes on to say: "It has been already stated, on Doe's authority, that Bunyan was writing the 'Strait Gate' when his allegory struck him; and he himself *confesses* that he was 'almost done' when it did so."[1] Upon reading this, my attention was at once directed to Doe's dates taken from Bunyan's own reckoning, a fine copy of which is in my library, folio, 1692. It is called 'The Struggler for the Preservation of Mr. John Bunyan's Labours;'[2] and it is hardly possible to conceive my amazement on finding that Mr. Doe's testimony is exactly the reverse of what Mr. Philip asserts it to be. With all respect for my worthy friend and neighbour, who is perfectly incapable of any wilful misrepresentation, I can only account for his strange mistake by charitably supposing that at the time when he thought he awoke from the popular dream, he was in what is vulgarly called a brown study, or that the moon was at the full; when, under the influence of a disturbed imagination, he thought that Mr. Doe had *authorized* him to make such a marvellous statement as that the Pilgrim's Progress was written in Bunyan's own cottage at Elstow. Charles Doe gives three statements, all of which are accurate. The first is the order in which Bunyan *published* his works to the world: in this he places the Pilgrim's Progress, without a date, between the Strait Gate, 1676, and the Fear of God, 1679; and the accuracy of this is proved by the discovery of a first edition, dated 1678. He follows this with two distinct accounts of where the Pilgrim's Progress was *written*. In this, his great allegory follows the Grace Abounding: the words "and others," allude to books not only written, but published, while he was in prison. His words are these:—

[9] Page xxxi.

[1] Page xxxi.

[2] Critique, p. ii.; Life and Times of Bunyan, p. 550.

"Whilst he (Bunyan) was thus twelve years and a half in prison, he WRIT several of his published books (as by many of their epistles appears), as, Pray by the Spirit, Holy City, Resurrection, Grace Abounding, and others; also THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS, AS HIMSELF and many others have said." On the following page Doe thus reasons upon the fact, again stating that the book *was written* in Prison:—"What hath the devil or his agents gotten by putting our great gospel minister Bunyan in prison? For IN PRISON (as before mentioned) HE WROTE many excellent books, that have published to the world his great grace, and great truth, and great judgment, and great ingenuity; and to instance in one, THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS, he hath suited to the life of a traveller so exactly and pleasantly, and to the life of a Christian, that this very book, besides the rest, hath done the superstitious sort of men, and their practice, more harm, or rather good, as I may call it, than if he had been let alone at his meeting at Bedford, to preach the gospel to his own auditory, as it might have fallen out; for none but priest-ridden people know how to cavil at it; it wins so smoothly upon their affections, and so insensibly distils the gospel into them; and hath been printed in France, Holland, New England, and in Welsh, and about a hundred thousand in England, whereby they are made some means of grace, and the author become famous, and may be the cause of spreading his other gospel books over the European and American world, and in process of time may be so to the whole universe."[3] Mr. Doe does not give the date when this allegory was published, nor does he say that Bunyan was writing "The Strait Gate" when his allegory struck him; nor does Bunyan say that he had "almost done" "The Strait Gate" when it did strike him. Nor is it probable that he continued to reside at Elstow when he left the prison, having taken the pastoral charge of the church at Bedford. Charles Doe's account, which is indisputable, was

[3] Mr. Philip must have seen the Struggler, for he quotes these very words! See Life and Times, p. 556.

re-published by Mr. Jukes, in the Patriot of April 16, 1846, in answer to Mr. Philip's childish assertions. In a letter on the 23rd of the same month, Mr. Philip, in attempting to reply, argues, still more childishly, that Bunyan tried to write such a work in prison, but never succeeded; and that this led him to speak of having written it in prison. Bunyan says:

> "....I set pen to paper with delight,
> And *quickly* had my thoughts in black and white."

And no one has ever dared to doubt his veracity, except Mr. Philip. He again asserts that he relies upon Doe's definite dates, rather than upon his vague phrases. The fact is, that Doe gives no date at all. His phrase is, "*Bunyan wrote his Pilgrim's Progress in prison.*" He who calls this a vague phrase must be far advanced in second childhood; and we request our excellent friend Mr. Jukes, who calls him "very arbitrary, very unfair, and very inconsistent," to feel rather sorrow than anger at his unhappy state.

Having thus dissipated Mr. Philip's *ignis fatuus*, it may amuse the reader and more effectually disperse the vapours with which it was composed, by producing some further conclusive and collateral proofs that Bunyan did write his immortal work while he was in prison for Christ's sake. Let us first consider honest John's own testimony. He commences the allegory thus: "As I walked through the wilderness of this world, I lighted on a certain place, where was a Den; And I laid me down in that place to sleep: And as I slept I dreamed a Dream."[4] In the margin he tells us that the word "Den" means "THE GAOL," thus indicating the place where the first part of the Pilgrim's Progress was conceived. Had this work been printed when it was written, the author would, as in other of his books, have dated his introduction from the gaol, in which case there would have been no need of any note to connect the word Den with the gaol. Nor did he feel the necessity of such a

[4] Pilgrim, p 1.

reference until after the second edition, when he inserted this plain indication that he wrote it while he was a prisoner.

"And thus it was: I writing of the Way
And Race of Saints, in this our Gospel Day,
Fell suddenly into an Allegory
About their Journey, and the way to Glory,
In more than twenty things, which I *set down*;
This done I twenty more had in my Crown,
And they again began to multiply,
Like sparks that from the coals of fire do fly,
Nay, then thought I, if that you breed so fast,
I'll put you by yourselves, lest you at last
Should prove ad infinitum.

.

Neither did I but vacant seasons spend
In this my scribble;

.

Thus I set pen to paper with delight,
And quickly had my thoughts in black and white.
For having now my method by the end,
Still as I pull'd, it came; and so I penned
It down, until it came at last to be,
For length and breadth the bigness which you see."

This simple statement by John Bunyan requires no comment. In gaol he was writing some book, most probably his own spiritual pilgrimage, as is beautifully expressed by Dr. Cheever: "As you read the Grace Abounding, you are ready to say at every step, Here is the future author of Pilgrim's Progress. It is as if you stood beside some great sculptor, and watched every movement of his chisel, having had his design explained to you before, so that at every blow some new trait of beauty in the future statue comes clearly into view." While thus employed, he was suddenly struck with the thought of an Allegory about the saints' journey to heaven, and he at once commenced writing it, and at his vacant seasons finished the work. So familiar was it with him to connect the term DEN with a prison, that when treating of his spiritual imprisonment in Doubting Castle, the Giant, instead of ordering his prisoners to their cell or dungeon, says, "Get you down into your DEN again."

My second evidence is the first edition of the book itself.

This bears strong internal proof of its having been written long before it was published. It must be remembered that the second edition issued from the same press, by the same publishers, also in the same year; and there will be found, on comparing the two editions, a very striking difference in the spelling of many words, such as "drownded" is corrected to "drowned;"[3] "slow" to "slough;"[4] "chaulk" to "chalk;"[5] "travailer" to "traveller;"[6] "countrey" to "country;" "raggs" to "rags;"[7] "brast" to "burst;"[8] &c. &c. This may readily be accounted for by the author's having kept the work in manuscript for some years before it was printed, and, having taken the advice of many friends who had read the manuscript, upon the propriety of publishing it, he either had no inclination or no leisure to revise it when he had decided upon sending it forth to the public. There is an apparent difference of twenty years between the spelling used in these two books, which were published in the same year, and issued from the same press; besides which there were very considerable additions of new characters in the second edition. I have no doubt but that the printer followed Bunyan's spelling, punctuation, capitals, and italics. And this shows that, notwithstanding his very numerous engagements, he had found time to cultivate and improve his talents in composition between the *writing* of the first and the publication of his second edition.

Our third evidence is that of a pious gentleman, who was one of Bunyan's personal and "true friends," and enjoyed the happiness of a long acquaintance with him. It is in the continuation to the Grace Abounding, published in 1692, from which time it was very extensively circulated with that deeply interesting narrative. This author says that, "during Bunyan's confinement in prison, he WROTE these following books, viz., *Of Prayer by the Spirit; The Holy Citie; Resurrection; Grace Abounding;* PILGRIM'S PRO-

[3] Page 9.
[4] Page 25.
[5] Apology, p. xi.
[6] Page, p. 27.
[7] Page 31.
[8] Page 69.

GRESS, 1st Part." Nothing can be more conclusive than such evidence by an eye-witness, one of Bunyan's intimate friends, and which for one hundred and fifty years was never doubted, nor ought it ever to have been doubted.

The fourth proof is, The Tradition handed down in the family of his fellow prisoner, Mr. Marsom, an estimable and pious preacher, who, with Bunyan, was confined in Bedford Gaol for conscience' sake. His daughter married Mr. Gurney, the grandfather of the late Baron Gurney, and of W. B. Gurney, Esq., his brother, the present venerated treasurer of the Baptist Missionary Society, and he bears this testimony: "Thomas Marsom was an ironmonger, and pastor of the Baptist church at Luton; he died in January, 1725–6, at a very advanced age. This Thomas Marsom was a fellow prisoner with Bunyan, and my grandfather, who knew him well, was in the habit of repeating to his son, my father, many interesting circumstances which he had heard from him connected with his imprisonment. One of these was, that Bunyan read the manuscript of the Pilgrim's Progress to his fellow prisoners, requesting their opinion upon it. The descriptions naturally excited a little pleasantry, and Marsom, who was of a sedate turn, gave his opinion against the publication; but on reflection requested permission to take the manuscript to his own cell, that he might read it alone. Having done so, he returned it with an earnest recommendation that it should be published." How easily can we imagine the poor prisoner narrating the various adventures of his pilgrims when illustrating a subject of discourse in the gaol. He had received calls to join more wealthy churches,[8] but he cleaved to his poor flock at Bedford. Suppose his exhortation to have been on those words, "Freely ye have received, freely give;" how admirably could he introduce all the Jesuitic subtilties of By-ends, Money-love, and his party. Hear him exhort his fellow prisoners on the "terrors of the Lord," and you would

[8] Doe's Reasons for printing Bunyan's Works, X. This ought to take a prominent place in his Life and Times.

anticipate his leading in the burdened Christian,—his adventures in the Valley of the Shadow of Death, and recounting the awful dream of the day of judgment, which is related in the Interpreter's House,—or when preaching on the words, "resist the devil," who like him could recount the fight with Apollyon?

Thus we have seen the evidence of Charles Doe, Bunyan's contemporary and friend; proof given by the author himself, in his own words, "Den," the "Gaol" in all but the first editions; the evidence of a pious friend of Bunyan, who long enjoyed his acquaintance, and wrote the continuation of his spiritual life, published within four years of his decease; and the traditions handed down to us by one of his fellow prisoners. If we refuse such testimony, neither should we believe if Bunyan himself came from the invisible world to confirm its truth.

The reason why it was not published for several years after his release, appears chiefly to have been the difference of opinion expressed by his friends as to the propriety of printing a book which treated so familiarly the most solemn subjects.

> "Well, when I had thus put my ends together,
> I showed them others, that I might see whether
> They would condemn them, or them justify:
> And some said, let them live; some, let them die.
> Some said, John, print it; others said, not so:
> Some said, it might do good; others said, No."

The heavenly mindedness of the author made it a painful effort when public duty impelled him to act contrary to the advice of pious friends. "I said to them, Offend you I am loth;" but the result was that "at last" he determined to decide the question upon which there was this singular balance of opinion, and he published the work which has immortalized his name.

Somewhat similar to this was the conference of dissenting ministers held in London when Sunday-schools were first recommended, and at which some of my friends were present; the desecration of the Lord's day was pleaded against them,

and it was only by a very small majority that institutions were sanctioned which advanced the spread of divine truth with a rapidity as extraordinary as is the increased speed of travelling by the aid of steam.

Thus was it debated whether the Pilgrim should walk forth or not, fearing lest the singularity of his dress should excite trivial or vain thoughts in the readers, like the disturbance at Vanity Fair; or it might arise from a fear lest the various characters and dialogues should be thought to approach in the slightest degree to a drama. It is perhaps impossible to account for the different feelings excited in men's minds by reading the same narrative. In this case the fear was, lest it should tend to excite a light or trifling spirit while considering the solemn realities of eternity. In most cases reading this volume has had a solemnizing effect upon the mind. Some have tried to read it, but have shut it up with fear, because it leads directly to the inquiry, Have I felt the burden of sin?—Have I fled for refuge? Others, because it has such home-thrusts at hypocrisy, and such cutting remarks upon those who profess godliness, but in secret are wanton and godless. The folly of reliance upon an imperfect obedience to the law for the pardon of sin, repeatedly and faithfully urged, is a hard and humbling lesson. It mercilessly exposes the worthlessness of all those things which are most prized by the worldling. No book has so continual and direct a tendency to solemn self-examination. Every character that is drawn makes a powerful appeal to the conscience, and leads almost irresistibly to the mental inquiry, "Lord, is it I?" No work is better calculated to infuse deeper solemnity into the mind of an attentive reader.

In addition to the serious opposition of his friends to the publication of the Pilgrim, we must also consider the author's other engagements. After so long, so harassing, so unjust an imprisonment, much of his time must have been spent in restoring order in his house and in his church,—paying pastoral visits,—recovering lost stations, and extending his devotional

and ministerial exercises in all the villages around and within his reach. So great was his popularity that an eye-witness says, when he preached in London, "if there were but one day's notice given, there would be more people come together to hear him preach than the meeting-house would hold. I have seen, to hear him preach, about twelve hundred at a morning lecture, by seven o'clock on a working day, in the dark winter time."[1] Such popularity must have occasioned a considerable tax upon his time, in addition to which he was then warmly engaged in his controversy on baptism,[2] and in some admirable practical works. These may have been some of the reasons why a humble, pious author hesitated for several years to publish a work, on the practical bearing of which his friends had expressed such opposite opinions. At length he made up his mind.

"Since you are thus divided,
I print it will; and so the case decided."[3]

[1] Charles Doe, in the Struggler.

[2] This controversy has been somewhat misunderstood. It was whether *water*-baptism was a pre-requisite to the Lord's table. It had no relation to the mode, whether by sprinkling or by immersing. Bunyan's position was that water-baptism was a *personal* and not a *relative* or even a *church* question, and that those who, by their life, conduct, and profession, prove that they had been baptized by the Holy Ghost, ought to be admitted to the Lord's table, even if they rejected both sprinkling and immersion, and had never been baptized with water at all. The new birth or spiritual baptism was with him the only pre-requisite to the communion of saints at the table of their Lord. Bunyan's great-great-granddaughter, a venerable lady, upwards of eighty years of age, with whom I had much interesting conversation, differed with her ancestor, and was united to a strict baptist church. Her fear was that mixed communion might tend to contention; but she admitted that in the church at Bedford no bitterness on this subject had injured them. It was a church of Christ in 1650, and so it has continued, a blessing to the neighbourhood, although water-baptism was no bar to communion. The difference between Bunyan and the strict baptists embraces the distinction drawn between John's baptism and that which was to come after, if not to supersede it, and upon which every individual is bound to form his own judgment. See Matt. iii. 11; Mark i. 8; Luke iii. 16; and John i. 26—33: compare with Heb. vi. 2; and Eph. iv. 5.—EDITOR.

[3] Apology, p. vi.

BUNYAN'S QUALIFICATIONS TO WRITE THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS SANCTIFIED BY PRISON DISCIPLINE.

THAT the author of the Pilgrim was pre-eminently qualified to write such a work is proved by its vast circulation, and by the extraordinary interest which it created and has kept alive for nearly two centuries throughout the world. This ought not to excite surprise, when it is recollected that it was the production of a man profoundly learned in all the subtilties of the human heart,—deeply skilled in detecting error and sophistry,—thoroughly humbled under a sense of his own unworthiness. He was baptized into the divine truths of Christianity by the searching, wounding, and healing influences of the Holy Spirit. Shut up for twelve years with his Bible, all the rags of popery and heathenism were stripped off, and he came out, a living theology, comparatively free from mere human doctrines or systems. The spirit of the prophets and apostles breathes in his language. His was an education which all the academies and universities in the world could not have communicated. He was deeply learned in that "wisdom that is from above,"[4] and can only be acquired in the school of Christ. His spirit was nurtured by close, unwearied, prayerful searching of the word of life,—by perpetual watchfulness over the workings of his spirit, and by inward communion with his God. He knew well what was meant by "groanings which cannot be uttered,"[5] as well as by being "caught up," as it were, "to the third heaven," even to "paradise," and in his spirit to "hear unspeakable words which it is not possible for man to utter."[6] He had gone through every severe trial; with the Psalmist he had sunk in deep mire where there was no standing; the powers of darkness like "the floods overflow me;"[7] and with him he could also sing, "I will extol thee, O Lord, for thou hast lifted me up,"[8] "Thou hast brought up my soul from

[4] James iii. 17.
[5] Rom. viii. 26.
[6] 2 Cor. xii. 4.
[7] Ps. lxix. 2.
[8] Ps. xxx. 1.

the grave;"[9] "He brought me up out of an horrible pit;"[1] "Thou hast healed me;" "Thou hast put off my sack-cloth, and girded me with gladness." In his happier days, he felt that he was an inhabitant of that invisible, holy, spiritual Jerusalem,—the universal church of Christ, encompassed by "the Lord as a wall of fire, and the glory in the midst of her." He lived in an atmosphere, and used a language, unknown to the wisdom of this world, and which a poet laureate mistook for reveries, for "the hot and cold fits of a spiritual ague," or for the paroxysms of disease.[2] His mind was deeply imbued with all that was most terrific as well as most magnificent in religion. In proportion as his Christian course became pure and lovely, so his former life must have been surveyed with unmitigated severity and abhorrence.

His energetic eloquence attracted to his sermons every class; and when the learned Dr. John Owen was asked by the king how a man of his learning could hear a tinker preach, he replied, "Had I the tinker's abilities, I would most gladly relinquish my learning." Thus did a man profoundly versed in scholastic literature sanctified by piety, bow to the superiority of the Spirit's teaching. The unlettered tinker led captive, by his consecrated natural eloquence, one of the most eminent divines of his day.

Considering the amazing popularity of the Pilgrim's Progress, and its astonishing usefulness to all classes of mankind, in all the countries of the earth, may we not attribute its author's deep and hallowed feelings,—severe trials and every lesson of divine wisdom he received, as being intended by the Holy Spirit, to fit him to write this surprising Dream?

Bunyan was a master of rhetoric, and logic, and moral philosophy, without studying those sciences, or perhaps even understanding the terms by which they are designated. His Bible (wondrous book!) was his library. All his genius was nurtured from the living fountain of truth, it purified his style, and adapted his work by its simplicity and

[9] Ps. xxx. 3. [1] Ps. xl. 2. [2] Southey's Life of Bunyan, xxxii.

energy to every understanding. His key to its mysteries, was earnest holy prayer; and musing over the human heart, and watching the operations of nature, afforded him an ample illustration of its sacred truths. His time for study was every moment of his life that he could save from sleep, and even then his ever active spirit was busy in dreams, many of which contained valuable lessons, so that his mind became most richly stored and was perpetually overflowing.

Nor must it be forgotten that, in addition to his heavenly, he possessed peculiar earthly qualifications for such a work,—that he had been the very ringleader in all manner of vice and ungodliness. Dr. Ryland's description of his character is written with peculiar pungency: "No man of common sense and common integrity can deny, that Bunyan, the tinker of Elstow, was a practical atheist, a worthless contemptible infidel, a vile rebel to God and goodness, a common profligate, a soul-despising, a soul-murdering, a soul-damning thoughtless wretch, as could exist on the face of the earth. Now be astonished, O heaven, to eternity, and wonder, O earth and hell! while time endures. Behold this very man become a miracle of mercy, a mirror of wisdom, goodness, holiness, truth and love. See his polluted soul cleansed and adorned by divine grace—his guilt pardoned—the divine law inscribed upon his heart, the divine image or the resemblance of God's moral perfections impressed upon his soul."[1] He had received a common education, but vicious habits had "almost utterly" blotted out of his memory every useful lesson; so that he must have had, when impressed with divine truth, great determination to have enabled him not only to recover the instruction which he had received in his younger days, but even to have added to it such stores of valuable information. In this, his natural quickness of perception and retentive memory must have been of extreme value. Having been mixed up intimately with every class of men, and seen them in their most unguarded mo-

[1] Bunyan's Works, 8vo. Preface by Ryland.

ments, it enabled him to draw his characters in such vivid colours and with such graphic accuracy. Filled with an inspiration which could be drawn from the Bible alone, he has delineated characters as touching and interesting to us in the nineteenth century as they were to our pilgrim forefathers of a bygone age, and as they will be to the Christian sojourner of ages yet to come. It is a history, with little variation, of that which must always happen while Christianity endures.

Bunyan had run the round of sin; had sown the seed of vice, and brought forth the bitter fruits of repentance; had felt intense alarm lest eternal torments should swallow up his soul in death; had fled for and found refuge in the sufferings of Christ. His burden removed, he loved much, because to him much had been forgiven; he had been brought up out of horrible darkness, and well was he qualified to aid those who were walking through the dismal valley of the shadow of death!

Happily the glorious Dreamer never appeared to have any idea of his own immortal fame as an author: all his spirit centred in his Saviour; all his efforts were to make known the glad tidings of salvation to surrounding sinners. If he coveted the tongue of an angel, it was not for brilliancy of language, but that he might use burning words to make an indelible impression upon his hearers. His humble books were printed without ornament upon inferior paper of the class called chap-books, from their being vended by travelling hawkers called chapmen, now magniloquently called *colporteurs.*

His character and qualifications were admirably portrayed by his pastor J. Gifford,[1] in his introduction to the first edition

[1] John Gifford had been a major in the king's army; was convicted for raising an insurrection in Kent and sentenced to die, but made his escape from prison, and settled in Bedford as a medical practitioner. He was a great persecutor, but became after his conversion a baptist minister, and formed his fellow converts into a church at Bedford, about 1650, over which he became pastor. Bunyan joined this church in 1653, and eventually became its pastor in 1671; and it continues to this day a flourishing Christian church. Vide Brooke's Lives of the Puritans, vol. iii. p. 257.

of a "Few Sighs from Hell, 1658," and as this interesting portrait was not inserted in any of the subsequent editions of of that book, and has escaped the "diligent researches" of all the biographers of Bunyan, I am tempted to give it verbatim, more especially, as it is generally believed that John Gifford was the Evangelist who directed the Pilgrim to the Wicket Gate. "Concerning the author (whatsoever the censures and reports of many are,) I have this to say, that I verily believe God hath counted him faithful, and put him into the ministery; and though his outward condition and former employment was mean, and his humane learning small, yet is he one that hath acquaintance with God, and taught by his Spirit, and hath been used in his hand to do souls good; for to my knowledge there are divers, who have felt the power of the word delivered by him, and I doubt not, but that many more may, if the Lord continue him in his work; he is not like unto your drones that will suck the sweet, but do no work. For he hath laid forth himself to the utmost of his strength, taking all advantages to make known to others what he himself hath received of God; and I fear that is one reason why the archers have shot so soarly at him; for by his and others' industry, in their Master's work, their slothfulness hath been reproved, and the eyes of many have been opened to see a difference between those that are sent of God, and those that run before they are sent. And that he is none of those light fanatick spirits, that our age abounds withal: this following discourse, together with his former, that have been brought to publique view will testifie; for among other things that may bear record to him herein, you shall find him magnifying and exalting the holy scriptures, and largely showing the worth, excellency, and usefulness of them.

"And surely if thou shalt (notwithstanding this) stumble at his meanness and want of humane learning, thou wilt declare thine unacquaintance with God's declared method, who to perfect his own praise, and to still the enemy and avenger, *makes choice of babes and sucklings, and in their mouthes ordaineth strength.*—Ps. viii. 2. Though men that have a great design

do, and must make use of those that in reason are most likely to effect it, yet must the Lord do so too? then instruments (not himself) would carry away the praise; but that no flesh should glory in his presence, *he hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and base things of the world, and things that are despised hath God chosen.* 1 Cor. i. 27, 28, 29. Cast thine eye back to the beginning of the gospel dispensation (which surely, if at any time, should have come forth in the wisdom and glory of the world), and thou shalt see what method the Lord did take at the first to exalt his Son Jesus; he goes not amongst the Jewish rabbies, nor to the schools of learning, to fetch out his gospel preachers, but to the trades, and those most contemptible too; yet let not any from hence conceive, that I undervalue the gifts and graces of such who have been, or now are endued with them, nor yet speak against learning, being kept in its place, but my meaning is, that those that are learned should not despise those that are not; or those that are not, should not despise those that are, who are faithful in the Lord's work: and, therefore, being about to leave thee, I shall leave with thee two scriptures to be considered of. The one is, John xiii. 20.—*Verily, verily I say unto you, he that receiveth whomsoever I send* (mark whomsoever), *receiveth me; and he that receiveth me, receiveth Him that sent me.* The other is Luke x. 16.—*He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despisest you, despisest me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth Him that sent me.*—I. G." Bunyan closes his own preface with these words, "I am thine, if thou be not ashamed to own me, because of my low and contemptible descent in the world, John Bunyan." This was altered in the subsequent editions to, "I am thine, to serve in the Lord Jesus, John Bunyan."

Bunyan's great natural abilities required to be tempered in the school of affliction: and his ardent temperament met with no ordinary degree of chastisement; his principles and constancy were tried by bonds and imprisonment; his spirit, in the warfare of controversy, not only with the enemies of his Lord, but upon minor points with his brother disciples.

And with some of these he, after their wordy war, met in the same common gaol; united in worship before the throne of God; former wounds were healed, and heart-burnings sanctified; and he became more fully fitted as a guide to all pilgrims of every sect. He passed through every trial that his Lord saw needful, to temper his ardent spirit, and fit him to write his immortal Allegory.

That a man possessing such extraordinary talent should excite the envy of some, and the bitterest animosity of others is natural. "The archers did shoot sorely at him," and never was a man better armed to resist and crush his comparatively puny assailants. In those days hard words and uncivil language were commonly used in controversy, and Bunyan's early associations and singular genius furnished his quiver with arrows of piercing point. His moral character was assailed in the grossest terms; he was called a wizard, a Jesuit, a highwayman, a libertine, and was charged as guilty of every crime; to this he gave a direct denial, and triumphantly pointed to his whole conduct since his conversion as a refutation of such unfounded calumnies. These malignant accusations are referred to and refuted in that thrilling narrative, "The singular experience and great sufferings of Mrs. Agnes Beaumont," contained in a very deeply interesting volume, "An Abstract of the gracious Dealings of God with several eminent Christians, by Samuel James, M.A."[2] Another and very different tournament took place between him and E. Fowler, afterwards bishop of Gloucester. He published his views of "The Design of Christianity:" that it was merely the restoration of man to his primitive state. Bunyan saw his book, and very justly conceiving that the learned divine had asserted some gross errors upon doctrinal points of the greatest importance; he treated the embryo bishop just the same as if he had been a brother tinker, a mere man, who was attempting to rob his [Bunyan's] beloved Master of one of the most glorious gems in his crown. In the almost incredibly short time of forty

[2] The public were indebted to Mr. S. J. Button for a new and handsome edition of this work, in 1824.

five days[4] he, in gaol, composed an answer, consisting of one hundred and eighteen pages of small quarto, closely printed, and in which he completely demolished the theory of this great scholar. It is entitled, "A Defence of the Doctrine of Justification by Faith in Jesus Christ, showing true Gospel Holiness flows from thence; or Mr. Fowler's pretended Design of Christianity proved to be nothing more than to trample under foot the blood of the Son of God: and the idolizing of man's own righteousness." In this hastily written, but valuable book, Bunyan used very strong language, reflecting upon a man of considerable influence, and one of his decided enemies. Of some of Mr. Fowler's sentiments, he says, "Here are pure dictates of a brutish beastly man, that neither knows himself nor one tittle of the word of God.[5] But why should this THIEF love thus to *clamber* and seek to go to God by other means[6] than Christ. Mr. Fowler said, 'It cannot be worth our while to lay out any considerable matter of our heat, either for or against *doubtful opinions, alterable modes, rites and circumstances of religion*:—it would be like the apes blowing at a glow-worm, which affords neither light nor warmth,[7] and whatsoever is commended by the custom of the places we live in, or commanded by superiors, our Christian liberty is to do them.'"[8] Bunyan knew the feelings of the clergy in his own neighbourhood, and he also knew that the Act of Uniformity had just turned out all the godly and evangelical ministers from the church of England. To this sophistry as to a Christian's being bound by the custom of the country he lives in, and by the authority of superiors, as to outward forms or ceremonies of divine worship and religious teaching, our Pilgrim's guide thus breaks out into what Mr. Fowler calls a Rabshakeh, "I know none so wedded thereto as yourselves, even the whole gang of your rabling counterfeit clergy; who generally, like the *Ape* you speak of,

[4] From 13 November to 27th of December, 1671. See pref. and page 1.

[5] Page 5.

[6] Page 29.

[7] Design of Christianity, 8vo, 1671, p. 239.

[8] Design of Christianity, p. 242.

lye blowing up the applause and glory of your trumpery, and like the *Tail* with your foolish and sophistical arguings, you cover the filthy parts thereof."[9]

To Bunyan's Treatise a reply was immediately published, and in it the gentleman and scholar complains of the uncharitable terms used by Bunyan, and we are led to expect something polite and genteel, but unfortunately the bishop in expectancy or one of his friends beats the tinker in harsh epithets without answering his hard arguments. This scoffer calls our Pilgrim's guide "grossly ignorant," "most unchristian and wicked,"[1] "a piece of proud folly," "so very dirty a creature that he disdains to defile his fingers with him;"[1] and yet writes a book in reply to him. He vauntingly says, that "Bunyan can no more disgrace the bishop than a rude creature can eclipse the moon by barking at her, or make palaces contemptible by their lifting up their legs against them."[2] He is not in the least concerned [so he pretends] at the *brutish barkings* of such a creature;" "a most black-mouthed calumniator;"[3] "*John Bunyan*, a person that hath been near these twenty years, or longer, most infamous in the town and county of Bedford, for a very pestilent schismatick;"[4] and winds up much of his abuse in these words:—"I now appeal to *authority*, whether this man ought to enjoy any interest in his Majesty's *toleration?* and whether the letting such *firebrands*, and most impudent, malicious schismaticks, go unpunish't, doth not tend to the subversion of *all* government? I say, let our superiors judge of this."[5] Bunyan had then suffered nearly twelve years' imprisonment, and was more zealous and intrepid than ever; and yet this fanatic bishop would have had his imprisonment continued, or his life forfeited, because he could not resist the arrows with which this prisoner for Christ assailed him, drawn all burning from the furnace of God's holy word. This was one of the lessons by which Bunyan was taught how to lead the Pil-

[9] Bunyan on Justification, 1672, 4to, p. 90.

[1] Dirt wipt off, 4to, 1672, title.

[2] Preface.

[3] Page 2.

[4] Page 3.

[5] Page 70.

grims in their attack upon the monster, state religion, which was very rampant, and looked upon the pilgrims with great disdain; but these valiant worthies did continually assault him, until he became wounded, "And it is verily believed by some, that this beast will certainly die of his wounds."[6] How would it delight the church of Christ to witness his death, and to see his vile remains buried under all his implements of torture; his inquisitions, flames and stakes, dungeons and racks, halters and church rates. Another, and a very serious lesson, he was taught in the controversy which he carried on with some Quakers and Strict Baptists.

And here I feel bound to remark that Mr. Philip, throughout his Life and Times of Bunyan, displays rather a singular spirit of that sectarianism, the absence of which in a Baptist he so greatly admires. He cannot let slip any apparent opportunity to have a fling[7] at the Quakers and Baptists. This is not exactly the spirit in which the life and times of a persecuted minister of the latter denomination should be written. He appears also to have no ordinary degree of self-complacency, which contrasts well with the humility of him who subscribed himself, "Thine, if thou be not ashamed to own me;"[8] "An unworthy servant of Christ;"[9] "That poor contemptible creature."[1] In reading his pages, we are continully reminded of a conversation between the late Mr. Ford of Stepney, and a young minister who had just preached for him. He was very anxious, and pressed much, to have Mr. Ford's opinion of his sermon; when that *faithful* minister said, "My dear young friend, I thought that the congregation generally thought that you thought your sermon very clever!"

Bunyan's controversy, which is said to have been with the Quakers, was in fact not with that highly respectable and useful body of Christians, but with persons whom he con-

[6] Pilgrim's Progress, p. 331.

[7] His remarks are unworthy a more polite term. Like a multitude of professing Christians, he is asleep, and enjoys certain popular dreams and delusions, from which we hope that divine truth may soon awaken him.

[8] A few Sighs from Hell. 1658.

[9] Gospel Truth opened. 1656.

[1] Doctrine of the Law and Grace.

sidered to be under serious delusions: some of these called themselves Quakers. At this period the Society of Friends were not united into a body or denomination. The battle, according to his own words, was against Satan, and those lies with which he had deceived some enthusiastic spirits. These characters were called by Bunyan, a company of loose ranters and light notionists, with here and there a legalist, who were shaking in their principles, sometimes on this religion and sometimes on that. It is true that he talks of the Quakers' delusions; but his fight was with principles, and not persons, and he sets forth what in his opinion were "the lies with which the devil beguileth poor souls." First, That salvation was not fully completed for sinners by Christ Jesus. Secondly, That the light within was sufficient without the written word. Some of these visionaries denied the divinity of Christ; others asserted that Christ was born, lived, and was crucified within them, and that he was only to be found within themselves by the aid of that light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world; that his being found in fashion as a man, and humbling himself to the death of the cross,—in fact, that his personal appearance on earth was only *typical* of his taking up a residence in the soul of every believer. Thus they entirely abandoned and neglected the written word. They adopted some singular practices, lived upon bread and water; forbade marriage, and *refused to wear hat-bands.* Such were the adversaries against whom he wrote the first book that he published. It was about this time that Naylor appeared, and he, acting under the delusion of having Christ within him, rode on an ass into Bristol, while the mob strewed their clothes before him, crying, "Hosannah! blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." And instead of reasoning with him, in order to remove this temporary delusion, he was cruelly tormented, imprisoned, pilloried, with its brutal accompaniments; burned through the tongue with a hot iron; branded with a B on his forehead, for blasphemy; whipped, and confined to hard labour. Mr. Grainger says "that the discipline of a prison soon

restored him to his senses;"[7] and we are inclined to think that he was mercifully restored to his right mind, because he was some years afterwards received into the Society of Friends as a member, and died in their communion; a fact which the clergyman had not the honesty to state.

Against this first work of Bunyan's, an answer was published by Edward Burroughs, afterwards an eminent Quaker. In this he fought, as Bunyan called it, "bitterly, with a parcel of scolding expressions;" and he advises him not to appear so gross a railing Rabshakeh. And in fact, he proved himself a match for his adversary with those weapons. He calls Bunyan of the stock of Ishmael, and of the seed of Cain, whose line reacheth to the murthering priests, enemies of Christ, preaching for hire. Bunyan replies, "These are words flung unto the winds by thee, my adversary." And he charges the Quakers with holding some of the errors which distinguished the Ranters, and uses some railing terms, calling these Quakers fond hypocrites and deceivers. Burroughs having thoughtlessly urged that there was not a Quaker heard of in the days of John,[8] his keen antagonist replied, "Friend, thou hast rightly said, there was not a Quaker heard of indeed, though there were many Christians heard of then." "Your sister, Anne Blackley, bid me, in the audience of many, *To throw away the Scriptures;* to which I answered, *No, for then the devil would be too hard for me.*" Among other queries put to him by Burroughs, one was, "Is not the liar and slanderer an unbeliever, and of the cursed nature?"[9] Bunyan's reply was: "The liar and slanderer is an unbeliever; and if he live and die in that condition, his state is very sad, tho' if he turn, there is hope for him; therefore repent, and turn quickly, or else look to yourselves, for you are the men, as is clear by your discourse."

This controversy, carried on with great spirit and warmth, related much to that difficult question, whether Christ con-

[7] Biog. Hist. of England.

[8] Doubtless meaning that they were not then called Quakers.

[9] Query 8.

tinued his human body after his ascension, or was it resolved into a spiritual form. It must have had a beneficial tendency. Bunyan considered that his antagonist did not value the Holy Oracles sufficiently; and Burroughs considered that too little attention was paid to "Christ formed in us the hope of glory." Both were questions of the deepest importance; and happy was it for those of their countrymen who witnessed the strife between these giants, and were led earnestly and prayerfully to search into these vital and important truths. The dispute presented much wholesome fruit, although not served up in silver dishes. Burroughs's friend, Howgill, bears this testimony of his worth:—"Though thou didst cut as a razor —and many a rough stone hast thou squared and polished, and much knotty wood hast thou hewn in thy day—yet to the seed, thy words dropped like oil, and thy lips as the honeycomb." A contest which involved in it a close examination of the sacred Scriptures, certainly afforded valuable lessons in fitting Britain's allegorist for his great and important work.

Bunyan's difference of opinion relative to the terms of communion at the Lord's table, led to a controversy with the Particular Baptist churches, to all of which he was sincerely attached: and this was probably one of the means by which he was enabled to write an itinerary to *all* pilgrims; for it must have blunted the edge of his sectarian feelings, and have enlarged his heart towards the whole Christian community of every class. In the preface to the Reason of his Practice, he displays all the noble sentiments of a Christian confessor; of one who has been deservedly called the Apostle of Bedford, or Bishop Bunyan. "Faith and holiness are my professed principles, with an endeavour, so far as in me lieth, to be at peace with all men. What shall I say? let mine enemies themselves be judges, if anything in these following doctrines, or if aught that any man hath heard me preach, doth, or hath according to the true intent of my words, savoured either of heresy or rebellion. I say again, let they themselves be judges, if aught they find in my writings or preaching, doth render me worthy of almost twelve years' imprisonment, or

one that deserveth to be hanged, or banished for ever, according to their tremendous sentence? Indeed, my principles are such as lead me to a denial to communicate in the things of the kingdom of Christ with ungodly and open profane; neither can I, in or by the superstitious inventions of this world, consent that my soul should be governed in any of my approaches to God, BECAUSE COMMANDED TO THE CONTRARY, AND COMMENDED FOR SO REFUSING. Wherefore, excepting this one thing, for which I ought not to be rebuked, I shall, I trust, in despite of slander and falsehood, discover myself at all times a peaceable and obedient subject. But if nothing will do, unless I make my conscience a continual butchery and slaughter-shop,—*unless putting out mine own eyes, I commit me to the blind to lead me* (as I doubt is desired by some), I have determined, the Almighty God being my help and shield, yet to suffer, if frail life might continue so long, even till the moss shall grow on mine eyebrows, rather than to violate my faith and principles. Touching my practice as to communion with visible saints, *although not baptized with water;* I say it is my present judgment so to do, and am willing to render a further reason thereof, shall I see the leading hand of God thereto. Thine in bonds for the Gospel, JOHN BUNYAN."

Kiffin, Denne, T. Paul, and Danvers replied to this Confession; Jesse and others defended it. This led to the publication of "The Differences about Water Baptism no Bar to Communion," and to the "Peaceable Principles and True." The controversy was carried on with sufficient acrimony to shake Bunyan's sectarian feelings, and to excite in his breast a determined spirit of *personal,* prayerful inquiry at the Fountain of Truth, in all matters both of faith and practice, at even the risk of life.

Here, again, a painful sense of duty requires me to notice the unfair dealing of Mr. Philip with John Bunyan. He asserts that which is a perversion of truth, bordering upon falsehood. Mr. Philip says that Bunyan "also rebuked those of them [the Baptists] who spoke stoutly, and a hundred times over, against

the baptism of the Church of England, as anti-christian."[1] He did believe it anti-christian, and therefore he rejected it; and Mr. Philip may do well to follow his example as to that cunningly devised fable. The Baptists, in their argument with Bunyan, had alleged that Episcopalians and Presbyterians all agreed that some kind of *water*-baptism was commanded; and in reply, he cuttingly taunts them, "They are against your manner of dipping, as well as the subject of water-baptism; neither do you, for all you flatter them, agree together in all but the subject. Do you allow their sprinkling? Do you allow their signing with the cross? Why then have you so stoutly, an hundred times over, condemned those things as anti-christian?"[2] This is as much as to say, If you think with them that an unmeaning ceremony turns a baby into a child of God and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven; if you agree with signing with the cross, and sprinkling with water, why call it anti-christian: but if you do not agree with these inventions, then you will do well to call them anti-christian still.

The principles of our great allegorist upon this subject have spread almost over all the Baptist churches. Bunyan probably considered these sentiments as the precursors of the dawn of a happy day, when the baptism of the Holy Ghost, with purifying power like heavenly fire, shall absorb all these bitter waters of contention which occasioned such angry, unholy dissension among the churches of Christ; when the soul of every believer shall be imbued and immersed in sacred love and zeal for the honour of our Lord and the increase of his kingdom; and the subject of water-baptism, as a personal duty, be better understood and appreciated.

In this conflict with his brethren, all that sanctified penetration, that unwavering fortitude, and that determination first to understand, and then to do his Lord's will, was displayed, that fitted the author to write his surprising allegory,

[1] Page 500.

[2] Differences about Water Baptism no Bar to Communion, 8vo, 1673, p. 99. Mr. Philip quotes from Hogg's edition of Bunyan's works, but it is the same as the original work.

and to be a "Great-heart" to guide and protect his weaker fellow pilgrims. Soon the prisons of England were filled with the most pious and virtuous of her citizens; and when Bunyan and his antagonists, both Quakers and Baptists, were confined within the same walls; conversed upon spiritual things; worshipped unitedly *their* God by the same way of access; all former bitterness and animosities were swallowed up in the communion of saints; and the wall of separation was thrown down,—not only did their sufferings increase their catholic spirit and respect for each other, but they became a blessing to many who were confined for real crimes: and when they came forth, it was with renewed powers to proclaim the *unsearchable* riches of Christ. Hundreds of poor imprisoned, godly ministers felt the power of those words, "Blessed be God who comforteth us in all our tribulation, that we may be able to comfort them that are in trouble."[5] Like Kelsey, a Baptist minister who suffered seventeen years' imprisonment, they could say:

> "I hope the more they punish me, that I shall grow more bold:
> The furnace they provide for me, will make me finer gold.
> My friends, my God *will* do me good, when *they* intend me harm;
> They may suppose a prison cold, but God can make it warm.
> What if my God should suffer them on me to have their will,
> And give me heaven instead of earth? I am no loser still."

Thus does antichrist destroy himself, for whether he imprisons the Christian, or only takes his goods for church rates or ecclesiastical impositions, he arms him with weapons to hasten the destruction of his own kingdom.

[5] 2 Cor. i. 4.

BUNYAN'S RELEASE FROM PRISON, AND PUBLICATION OF THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.

THE reigns of the debauched Charles II., and the besotted James, those fag-ends of an unhappy race, were the most humiliating that these realms ever witnessed. Deep dissimulation,[6] oft-repeated falsehoods, wilful and deliberate perjuries, were employed by the first of these royal profligates to obtain the throne. Solemn pledges to pardon political offenders were ruthlessly violated, as well as the oaths and declarations "that liberty should be extended to tender consciences on religious subjects, so that none should be disturbed or called in question for any differences of opinion in matters of religion."[7] The fanatic church of England soon obtained laws in direct violation of all the king's oaths and declarations, such as the Act of Uniformity, the Test and Corporation Acts, the Five-mile and Conventicle Acts, and a revival of the old statutes for compelling all persons to attend the church service; and thus forcing the weak-minded to become hypocritical members of the sect which was then, and continues to this day, to be preferred by the state as best suiting its purposes. Among the rest was an Act ordering all the subjects of the realm, for ever, to meet in their respective churches on the 29th of May in each year, and thank God that these kingdoms were on that day *new born and raised from the dead:*[8] an act which has not been repealed, but remains a disgrace to our statute book. A hurricane of persecution followed, and all the gaols in the kingdom soon became filled with those of our countrymen, who, by their virtue and piety, were the brightest ornaments of Christianity. While these barbarities were perpetrating, desolations

[6] That thorough courtier, Lord Halifax, apologizes for him thus: "If he dissembled, let us remember that he was a king; and that dissimulation is a jewel in the royal crown." Harris's Charles II. vol. ii. p. 16.

[7] Declaration from Breda.

[8] Meaning the restoration of the Stuart dynasty.

followed in rapid succession. A fearful pestilence swept away the inhabitants of the metropolis, followed in the next year by a conflagration which destroyed the cathedral and nearly all its churches, magazines, houses, and enormous wealth. Again, in the succeeding year came a Dutch fleet, which took Sheerness, destroyed our shipping, and caused a degree of consternation thus described by an eye-witness, who was attached to the court:[8] "I was at London in the plague and fire years, yet in neither did I observe such consternation and confusion in the looks of all men, as at this time, and with great cause: for if the Dutch had then come up to London, they had found all open to them, not one gun mounted at Tilbury Fort, nor one frigate ready in the river; so as they might have forced all the ships in the river up to the bridge, and there have burnt them, which would certainly have fired the Tower and all the suburbs west to Blackwall, as well as Southwark below bridge." Still the persecution of the Christians was continued in all its rigour.

Bunyan was one among the first persons punished under the sanction of these wicked laws. In November, 1660, he became a victim, and was persecuted for the *virtue* of refusing to be a hypocrite. The account of this event, as written by himself, is incorporated in all his biographies, and is deeply interesting and instructive. He was warned, and might have escaped for that time, if he had omitted to preach at the village of Samsell, or even by altering the time of the service; but no fear could make him swerve one jot from the path of duty. The constable entered, and going up to the pulpit, laid his hand upon him. Bunyan, with the Bible open in his hand, stedfastly fixed his eyes upon the man, when he turned pale, relinquished his grasp, and left him. Truly did one of his friends say, "he had a sharp quick eye."[9] He then gave himself up to those who had come to apprehend him.

Thus was he taken, sent to prison, and threatened with

[8] Mr. Roger Cook. Kennet's History of England, vol. iii. p. 265.

[9] Continuation to Grace Abounding.

transportation or the halter, unless he would conform, or pretend to conform, to whatever religion happened to be by law established. This at all hazards he steadily refused. Bunyan's sufferings in prison were aggravated by his affectionate feelings for his blind daughter, and with tender apprehension he speaks of her in language of impassioned solicitude. "Poor child, thought I, what sorrow art thou like to have for thy portion in this world! Thou must be beaten, must beg, suffer hunger, cold, nakedness, and a thousand calamities, though I cannot now endure the wind shall blow upon thee! Oh, the hardships I thought my blind one might go under, would break my heart to pieces!" Then he casts himself upon the boundless power of his God, repents his doubts, and is filled with consolation.

His wife was a partaker of his own spirit,—a heroine of no ordinary stamp in so trying a situation. She came to London with a petition for the release of her husband, which was presented to the House of Lords; but in vain. Time after time she appeared in person before the judges; and although a delicate young woman of retiring habits, pleaded the cause of her husband and his children in language worthy of the most talented counsel; but all her supplications were fruitless, although Judge Hale was evidently affected by her powerful appeal, and felt much for her. "This courageous, this fine, high-minded English woman, and Lord Chief Justice Hale, and Bunyan, have long since met in heaven; but how little could they recognize each other's character on earth! How little could the distressed, insulted wife have imagined, that beneath the judge's ermine, there was beating the heart of a child of God, a man of humility, integrity, and prayer! How little could the great, the learned, the illustrious, and truly pious judge have dreamed that the man, the obscure tinker, whom he was suffering to languish in prison for want of a writ of error, would one day be the subject of greater admiration and praise than all the judges in the kingdom of Great Britain! How little could he dream, that from that narrow cell where the

prisoner was left incarcerated, and cut off apparently from all usefulness, a glory would shine out, illustrating the government and grace of God, and doing more good to man, than all the prelates and judges of the kingdom put together had accomplished." [8]

How many thousands will in heaven search out Bunyan, to hear his own accounts of his sufferings, and how he conceived his wondrous dream! Nor will they forget the wife whose Plain Man's Pathway led him to his first inquiries after the Wicket-gate; nor his Elizabeth, who so nobly pleaded for him before the judges.

The number of nonconformists who were imprisoned in these trying times, will never be fully known until the great day when all secrets will be revealed, to the honour of the persecuted and the infamy of the persecutors. They were of both sexes and of all ages, from the child of nine or ten years to the hoary-headed saint of eighty, who, bending and trembling over the grave with bodily infirmities, was driven to prison and incarcerated in a filthy dungeon. In Picart's Religious Ceremonies,[9] it is stated that the number of dissenters, of all sects, who perished in prison under Charles II. was EIGHT THOUSAND.

As a sect, the Quakers were the most severely handled. Not only were they the ardent friends of religious liberty, but their principles were a blow at the root of priestly pride and domination; they denied the right of any gospel maintenance, whether by forcible or voluntary contributions; and taught that the work of the ministry was one of the purest benevolence, and not to be fulfilled for the love of pelf, or idleness, or worldly distinction. The law required them to attend the church, and when there, roused by the foolish and wicked observations of the priest, it was common for them to take out their Bibles, and denounce in awful terms the conduct of such blind teachers, who were leading their

[8] Dr. Cheever's Lectures.

[9] Paris, 1809, tom. x. p. 71: "Huit mille *dissenters* de toutes les croyances périrent en prison."

equally blind hearers to everlasting perdition. And for this they were imprisoned and cruelly treated.

If some of the nonconformists occasionally interrupted the clergyman while preaching, the church party frequently did the same to both Baptists and Quakers. Thus it happened when Bunyan was preaching in a barn, a church scholar, wounded by his observations, cried out, "You are a deceiver, a person of no charity, nor fit to preach; for you condemn the greater portion of your hearers." Bunyan replied, "Did not Jesus Christ preach to the same effect, when he described four sorts of hearers, — the highway, stony, thorny, and good-ground? whereof the good ground were the only persons to be saved? Do you mean to say that Jesus was unfit to preach? Away with such logick!" The scholar rode away much better punished than by imprisonment for disturbing a congregation which he was not compelled to attend.

Multitudes of Quakers and Baptists were confined for the non-payment of ruinous fines, imposed after the officers of injustice had swept away all the worldly goods that they possessed. In most cases they were treated with extreme cruelty; some, even in the midst of the plague then raging, were dragged from their homes and families, and shut up in a gaol little better than a pest-house, in which seventy-nine members of the Society of Friends,[2] and a great number of other nonconformists died, and obtained a happy release from the fangs of tyranny. Upwards of eight thousand Quakers alone suffered imprisonment;[3] and the record of those who died in prison, as preserved at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, gives the fearful number of three hundred and ninety-nine persons of that persuasion only. At Carlisle, Dorothy Waugh and Ann Robinson, for preaching, were dragged through the streets, with each an iron instrument of torture, called a bridle, upon their heads, and were treated with gross indecency.[4] A youth named James

[2] Hooke's Address to both Houses of Parliament, 4to, 1674.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Besse's Sufferings.

Parnell, aged nineteen, was treated with a degree of cruelty which, had it not been well authenticated, would have been beyond our credibility. "He was thrust into a hole in Colchester Castle not so wide as a baker's oven, and at a considerable height from the pavement; in climbing down to get his food, his hands being benumbed, he lost his hold, and fell upon the stones, wounding his head severely, and bruising his body. In this state he was beaten by the jailer, and thrust into a similar hole nearer the pavement. He was shortly released from further torments by death."[5] A memorial was presented to the king and his council at Whitehall, "Being a brief relation of some of the cruel and inhuman usage, and great persecution and imprisonment of above four thousand two hundred and thirty of the people of God, in scorn called Quakers, for worshipping of God and meeting together in the fear of the Lord."[6] The summary of this frightful broadside, which gives an account of the number of Quakers in every prison throughout the kingdom, and is of undoubted authority, shows that such was the thronged state of the prisons, that in some cases they were crowded into so small a space that some had to stand while the others laid down. Many were taken out dead. To add to their trials, in Somersetshire the vilest felons were ironed to the poor Quakers; all the prisons were filled with men, women, and children; the aged and young, healthy and sick, were indiscriminately shut up with the vilest of ruffians, their clothes torn off; women taken from their beds in the night, and driven along the dirty roads in winter to prison; sixty-eight thrust into a small room, without bread or water, some of the women being in the most trying and delicate state; many in chains and fetters, wallowing in indescribable filth. Sixty of these Quakers were at one time confined with John Bunyan and his friends in the prisons in Bedfordshire; and in one place of confinement in that county, "fifty are in a close and strait place, where many are sick and weak, and likely to

[5] Besse's Sufferings, vol. i. p. 191.

[6] Devonshire House, in a volume of tracts, 4to, No. 57.

perish." A very affecting appeal was made at this time to the House of Commons. One hundred and sixty-four non-conformists called Quakers assembled at Westminster, and sent in a petition, stating that many of their brethren lay in irons, cruelly beaten by cruel jailers; many have died in their sufferings, and many lie sick and weak upon straw; and then praying that they might suffer in their stead, and that their bodies might be put into the holes and prisons, and an equal number of their suffering dying friends be released. Well might the editor of the Christian Examiner call this "the feelings of majestic benevolence expressed in tender and beautiful simplicity."[7] In the gaol for the city of Bedford, in which Bunyan was confined, the prisoners were treated with an extraordinary degree of humanity, for which the jailer was severely threatened by some of the inhuman justices. So was Bunyan's valuable life preserved, and he favoured with an opportunity of writing the Pilgrim's Progress, and so fulfilling his great and appointed work. During this time he was permitted, by favour of the jailer, to visit his family, and even to go to London. This soon was rumoured; and one night he felt so uneasy, when at home, that at a very late hour he went back to the prison. The news of his being with his family at Elstow, was that very day taken to a neighbouring priest, who at midnight sent a messenger to the gaol, that he might be a witness against the merciful keeper. On his arrival he demanded, "Are all the prisoners safe?"—"Yes." "Is John Bunyan safe?"—"Yes." "Let me see him." He was called, and appeared; and all was well. His kind-hearted jailer said to him, "You may go out when you will, for you know much better when to return than I can tell you." While he was suffering this imprisonment, his friends in Bedford were severely visited by the ruthless hand of persecution.

Mr. Ruffhead[8] was one of Bunyan's principal friends and supporters, and had the honour of being the first that had his

[7] Christian Examiner, vol. i. p. 211.

[8] Spelt "Roughed" in the Indulgence, 1672.

house plundered in the general persecution, when those who refused to attend the church service were so severely visited.

The effect of persecution upon this excellent and pious man was, that he within two years opened his house for the reception of the despised Christians, and it was *the first place of worship* that was licensed in Bedford for the use of the nonconformists, if not the first in the United Kingdom. The account of the ruffianly transactions which took place at this time, is contained in a rare tract, called "A True and Impartial Narrative of some Illegal and Arbitrary Proceedings against Innocent Nonconformists in the Town of Bedford, 4to, 1670."[8] "On Monday the 30th of May, Fecknam, the chief apparitor, with the churchwarden, constable, and overseer, began to distrain. The person's name is *J. Ruffhead* at whose house they first began. He had been fined three pounds, and they took away two timber trees, value seven pounds."[9]

He must have been a man of some consequence in the town, to have been dealt with so leniently; for in most cases they swept away all the stock in trade, tools, and household furniture, and left the bare walls to shelter the widow and her lamenting orphans. Mr. Foster, a justice, went with the band, and in some cases *doubled the fine*, because it was not immediately paid. The misery was such, that the porters said *they would be hanged, drawn, and quartered, before they would assist in that work.* Two of them, for so refusing, were caught and sent to Bedford Gaol, where doubtless they gave an account to Bunyan of the cruel trials to which his pious friends were subjected. The trained bands were called out to assist, but "the tradesmen, journeymen, labourers, and servants having either left the town or hid themselves, to avoid his [Fecknam's] call, the town was so thin of people, that it looked more like a country village than a corporation; and the shops being generally shut down, it seemed like a place visited with a pest, where usually is written upon the door,

[8] In my own library.

[9] Page 9.

Lord, have mercy upon us!" Similar desolations fell upon many cities in the kingdom, which must have been utterly ruined, had the absurd attempt to enforce uniformity been continued.

Our pious teacher had his time so fully occupied in prison, that his hours must have passed more sweetly and swiftly than those of a debauched monarch, surrounded with luxuries, in his magnificent palaces. To make laces, the profit of which supported a beloved wife and his family of helpless children, must have employed many of his hours, to procure the scantiest food and most homely clothing. But he found time also to study his Bible, teach his fellow prisoners, and compose books which have inscribed his name on the page of history more indelibly and brilliantly than it could have been if set with diamonds on the most splendid earthly crown. He who could write, and loved to write, such volumes, wanted not occupation or solace; he might have said, I have found a nest of honey in the carcass of the lion that roared upon me. The world has from that time been refreshed with its sweetness, while, as a spiritual medicine, it counteracts the guilt and wretchedness of man. From such adversity God has extracted manna for the nourishment of his church in the wilderness.

Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage;
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for a hermitage.

For though men keep my outward man
Within their locks and bars,
Yet by the faith of Christ I can
Mount higher than the stars.

These be the men that God doth count
Of high and noble mind;
These be the men that do surmount
What you in nature find.

First they do conquer their own hearts,
All worldly fears, and then
Also the devil's fiery darts,
And persecuting men.

How refreshing for such Scriptures as these "to thrill through the soul" of a prisoner for Christ: "Let not your heart be troubled," &c.; "In the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." Thus Bunyan says, "I have had sweet sights of the forgiveness of sin in this place. O the Mount Zion, the heavenly Jerusalem, the innumerable company of angels, and God the Judge of all; Jesus the Mediator, and the spirits of just men made perfect! I have seen here what I never can express. I have felt the truth of that Scripture, 'Whom having not seen ye love; in whom, though now ye see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory.'"

It may be asked, Why dwell so much upon the sufferings of our pilgrim forefathers? My reply is, To those trials in the person of John Bunyan, we are indebted for his invaluable book. To the groans and tears and blood of these saints we owe the great privileges we now enjoy. And my object also is to warn my readers to touch not the unclean thing. She is governed by the same powers now as she was then; the Book of Common Prayer remains unaltered; but a more humane code of laws protects our persons from her tyranny. She will remain the same, while her unholy and unrighteous monopoly of state patronage and power is continued. She is defiled with the sufferings unto death of many of the saints of God. *Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord.*[1]

It would not be proper to pass by the contemptible sophistry with which Mr. Southey justifies an intolerant, bigoted hierarchy in sending our Pilgrim to prison, "where his understanding had leisure to ripen and to cool ... favourable for his *moral* and religious nature."[2] Can this be the language of the author of Wat Tyler? Yes; the smile of royalty had elevated and corrupted him. He might now regret that he was not born in Bonner's days, to have

[1] 2 Cor. vi. 14, 17.

[2] Southey's Life of Bunyan, p. lxvi.

assisted in improving the morals and religion of the martyrs, by flogging them in the coal-house!

The same language which Southey uses to justify the church of England in sending our Pilgrim to prison, is equally calculated to justify the horrid cruelties practised upon those pious and amiable martyrs, Tyndale, Latimer, or Ridley; or even to vindicate the state religion of a former time in crucifying of the Saviour. The alleged offence was refusing to transfer the obedience of a free immortal spirit from God, who justly claims it, to erring, debauched, or ungodly man, who, instigated by Satan, assumes the prerogatives of Deity to reign over the mode and form of worship; to impose trammels upon that which must be free, if it exists at all; for God is Spirit, and they who worship him, must do it in spirit and in truth.

When the English established church considered herself unsafe, unless Bunyan and many hundred kindred minds were shut up in prison, it proved itself to be a disgrace to the gospel and an injury to a free people.[3] All national hierarchies have estimated the minds of others by their own standard; but no *real* minister of the gospel can be like the Vicar of Bray, who was determined to retain his vicarage, whatever doctrine he might be ordered to preach.

How strangely different were the feelings of the poor, pious, unlettered teacher, to those of archbishops, bishops, and clergy, thousands of whom swore under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. to abjure the pope; perjured themselves under Mary, by swearing to maintain him; and under Elizabeth, again perjured themselves by taking a new oath to un-oath Queen Mary's oath; and all within the space of a few years. The interference of the state, by preferring one sect to another, naturally puts the people upon desperate courses, either to play the hypocrite, and have no conscience at all, or to be tortured for having a conscience not fashionable or pleasing to the court party. They must either deny their faith and

[3] Dr. Cheever, p. 95.

reason, or if virtuous, be destroyed for acting according to them.[4] Those who have no religion have always persecuted those who have religious principles; and to enable them to do this, they must obey the state, be it Christian or be it Mohammedan. Force makes hypocrites: persuasion alone makes converts.

Such wholesale persecutions bid fair to destroy the trade and commerce of the kingdom, and involve it in one universal desolation. Sir W. Petty the founder of the Shelbourne family, then a man of considerable note, demonstrated this in his Political Arithmetic; and the illustrious founder of Pennsylvania gave a just picture of the miseries inflicted by the Church of England, in her endeavours to force pious and honest men into her communion. "Persons have been flung into gaols, gates and trunks broken open, goods distrained, till a stool hath not been left to sit down on. Flocks of cattle driven, whole barns full of corn seized. Parents left without their children, children without their parents, both without subsistence. But that which aggravates the cruelty is, the widow's mite hath not escaped their hands; they have made her cow the forfeit of her conscience, not leaving her a bed to lie on, nor a blanket to cover her: and which is yet more barbarous, and helps to make up this tragedy, the poor helpless orphan's milk boiling over the fire, was flung away, and the skillet made part of their prize; that, had not nature in neighbours been stronger than cruelty in such informers and officers, to open her bowels for their relief and subsistence, they must have utterly perisht;" and what has such cruelty procured? "the judgments of God, the hatred of men. To the sufferers, misery; to their country, decay of people and trade; and to their own consciences an infinite guilt."[5] "Men must either have no conscience at all, or be hanged for having a conscience not fashionable."[6] He winds up a manly, learned and excellent treatise, by saying, *(inter alia)* that "the interests of Britain will stand longer upon the legs of the English people

[4] England's Present Interest, 4to, 1675, by William Penn.

[5] Ibid. Preface.

[6] Ibid. p. 39.

than of the English Church,"[3] and signs himself "An English Christian Man, William Penn." Persecution for his pure religious feelings drove him and thousands of the best English citizens across the Atlantic, to seek among savages the repose denied to them by the Church of England, and to found a state and an empire where the perfect equality and happiness of every sect—the non-interference of the state with the spiritual things of conscience and of God, will render it eventually the most mighty of empires, and an unbounded blessing to the whole universe.

At length the king was aroused, probably the grim head of his father flitted before his alarmed imagination, and to restore tranquillity to his kingdom he issued a declaration for liberty of conscience; whether induced by the groans of an afflicted people, many thousands of whom had suffered the loss of all things, or by the weakening of his kingdom by the multitudes who emigrated to America, to escape the tyranny of ecclesiastical persecution, or whether to relax the laws against the Papists has been a subject of controversy, and however we may be sceptical as to *royal* declarations, yet, judging cautiously, I am inclined to hope that the motives set forth in that declaration were true; at all events, it is an indelible record, that the dreadful experiment tried for twelve cruel years, to compel uniformity in divine worship by fines imprisonment, and even death, most signally failed, while it involved the kingdom in a state of desolation from which it required the glorious revolution of 1688 to restore it to comparative prosperity.

Favoured by the prompt and kind permission of Sir George Grey, one of her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, and the very courteous and hearty assistance of Mr. Lechmere, Keeper of the Archives in the State Paper Office, every possible search was made to find any papers or records relative to the imprisonment and discharge of Bunyan. Having thus an opportunity of transcribing all that could be found at the fountain head of intelligence, it may prove interesting to our

[3] Penn's England's Interest, page 57.

readers to possess a correct copy of these important documents. The first is the King's declaration under his own autograph signature.

Charles R

His Maties Declaration
to all his Loveing Subjects

Our care and Endeavours for the preservation of the Rights and Interests of the Church, have been sufficiently manifested to the World by the whole course of Our Government since Our happy Restauracôn, and by the many and frequent wayes of Coercion that Wee have used for reduceing all erring or dissenting persons, and for composeing the unhappy differences in matters of Religion, which Wee found among Our Subjects upon Our Returne: But it being evident by the sad experience of twelve yeares that there is very Little fruite of all those forceable Courses Wee thinke Our Selfe oblidged to make use of that Supreame Power in Ecclesiasticall Matters which is not onely inherent in Us, but hath been declared and Recognized to be soe by severall Statutes and Acts of Parliament; And therefore Wee doe now accordingly issue this Our Declaration, as well for the quieting the Mindes of Our Good Subjects in these Points, for Inviteing Strangers in this Conjuncture to come and Live under Us, and for the better Encouragement of all to a chearefull following of their Trade and Callings, from whence Wee hope by the Blessing of God to have many good and happy Advantages to our Government; As also for preventing for the future the danger that might otherwise arise from Private Meetings, and Seditious Conventicles;

And in the first place, Wee declare Our expresse Resolution Meaneing and Intention to be, That the Church of England bee preserved and remaine entire in its Doctrine, Discipline and Government, as now it stands established by Law;

And that this bee taken to bee, as it is, the Basis, Rule, and Standard of the Generall and Publicke Worshipp of God, And that the Orthodox Conformable Clergy doe receive and enjoy the Revenues belonging thereunto; And that no Person, though of a different opinion and Perswasion shall bee exempt from paying his Tythes, or other Dues whatsoever. And further Wee declare, That no Person shall bee capable of holding any benefice, Liveing, or Ecclesiasticall Dignity or Preferment of any kinde in this Our Kingdome of England, who is not exactly Conformable. Wee doe in the next Place declare Our Will and Pleasure to bee, That the Execution of all and all manner of Penall Lawes in matters Ecclesiasticall, against whatsoever sort of Non Comformists, or Recusants, bee immediately suspended, and they are hereby suspended. And all Judges, Judges of Assise and Gaole Delivery, Sheriffes, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Bayliffs, and other Officers, whatsoever, whether Ecclesiasticall, or Civill, are to take notice of it, and pay due Obedience thereunto.

And that there may be no pretence for any of Our Subjects to continue their illegall meetings and Conventicles Wee doe Declare, That wee shall from time to time allow a sufficient Number of Places, as they shall bee desired, in all parts of this Our Kingdome, for the use of such as doe not conforme to the Church of England, to meete and assemble in, in Order to their Publick Worship and Devotion; which Places shall bee open and free to all Persons.

But to prevent such disorders and inconveniencies as may happen by this Our Indulgence, if not duely regulated, and that they may be the better protected by the Civill Magistrate Our expresse Will and Pleasure is, That none of our Subjects

doe presume to meete in any Place, untill such Place bee allowed, and the Teacher of that congregation be approved by Us.

And Lest any should apprehend that this Restriction should make Our said Allowance and approbation difficult to bee obtained, Wee doe further Declare, That this Our Indulgence, as to the Allowance of the Publick Places of Worship, and approbation of the Teachers, shall extend to all sorts of Non-Conformists and Recusants, except the Recusants of the Roman Catholick Religion, to whom We shall in no wise allow Publick Places of Worship, but only indulge them their share in the common Exemption from the execution of the Penall Lawes, and the Exercise of their Worship in their private Houses onely.

And if after this Our Clemency and Indulgence, any of Our Subjects shall presume to abuse this Liberty, and shall preach seditiously, or to the Derogation of the Doctrine, Discipline, or Government of the Established Church, or shall meet in Places not allowed by Us, Wee doe hereby give them warneing, and Declare, We will proceed against them with all imaginable severity: And Wee will Lett them see We can be as Severe to punish such offenders, when soe justly provoked, as We are Indulgent to truely tender consciences. In Wittnesse whereof Wee have caused Our Greate Seale of England to be putt and affixed to these presents. Given att Our Court att Whitehall this fifteenth day of March in the 24th yeare of Our Reigne 167$\frac{1}{2}$.

Upon this being published an outcry was raised by the Church, that it was only intended to favour the Papists, although in it they are expressly prohibited from the public exercise of their religion. So angry was the king at his motives being, as he said, misrepresented, that he went to the Council Office, called for the deed, and with his own hand broke off the great seal; the ribbon remains to this day to which the seal had been attached. Still, the declaration, having passed the patent offices, was fully acted upon, and a return was ordered from the sheriffs throughout the kingdom, of the names of all prisoners for disobedience to the laws in ecclesiastical matters within their respective divisions, with the causes of their commitment. The following are the minutes of the Privy Council to which their returns were submitted:—

At the Court at Whitehall the 8th of May 1672

The Kings most excellent Matie

Lord Arch Bp of Canterbury	Viscot Ffauconberge
Lord Keeper	Viscot Halifax
Duke of Lauderdail	Lord Bp of London
Lord Chamberlain	Lord Newport

Earle of Bridgwater	Lord Hollis
Earle of Essex	M^{r} Vice Chamberlain
Earle of Anglesey	Mr Secretary Trevor
Earle of Bathe	S^{r} John Duncombe
Earle of Carlisle	Mr Chancellor of the Dutchy
Earle of Craven	Master of the Ordinance
Earle of Shaffsbury	S^{r} Thomas Osborne

Whereas his Ma^{tie} of his Princely Clemency was gratiously pleased to direct that Letters should be written from this Board to the Sherriffs of the respective Countyes and Cities and Countyes, and Townes and Countyes within his Ma^{ties} Kingdome of England and Dominion of Wales, requireing them to returne perfect lists or Callenders of the Names time and Causes of Comittment of all such Prisoners called Quakers as remaine in their severall Gaoles, or prisons, which they accordingly did, and the same were by order of his Ma^{tie} in Councell of the third of this instant delivered into the hands of the right Hono^{ble} the Lord Keeper of the great Seale of England, [Sir Orlando Bridgman,] who haveing considered thereof did this day returne them againe together with his opinion therevpon as followeth viz^{t}

The Returnes that are made touching the prisoners in the severall Goales are of severall Kindes.

1 All such of them as are returned to be convicted to be Transported or to be Convicted of a Premunire (vpon which Convictions I suppose Judgment was given) are not legally to be discharged but by his Ma^{ties} pardon vnder the great seale.

2 All those that are returned to be in prison vpon writts of Excomunicato Capiendo not mentioning the cause ought not to be discharged till the cause appeares—ffor if it be for Tythes, Legacyes, Defamations or other private Interest, they ought not to bee discharged till the partie be satisfied.

3 All those that are returned in prison for debt or vpon Exchequer processe or of any of the other Courts at Westminster, are not to be discharged till it be Knowne for what cause those processes Issued and those debts be discharged.

4 Those that are in prison for not paying their ffynes ought not to be discharged, without paying their ffynes or a Pardon.

All the rest I conceive may be discharged. Which being this day taken into consideration his Ma^{tie} was gratiously pleased to declare, that he will Pardon all those persons called Quakers, now in prison for any offence Committed, relateing only to his Ma^{tie} and not to the prejudice of any other person. And it was therevpon ordered by his Ma^{tie} in Councill That a List of the Names of the Quakers in the Severall Prisons together with the causes of their Comittment be and is herewith sent to his Ma^{ties} Attorney Generall who is required, and Authorized to prepare a Bill for his Ma^{ties} Royall Signature conteyning a Pardon to passe the great Seale of England, for all such to whom his Ma^{tie} may legally grant the same & in Case of any difficultie that he attend the Lord Keeper, and receive his directions therein.

Ex. J. W. Walker.

Order of Councill for the Quakers generalle Pardon.

Endorsed.

This is a true List of the Names of such persons commonly called Quakers and others which are by Vertue of an Order of Councill of the 8th of May last past to be inserted in a generall Pardon.

Ex. J. W. WALKER.

Then follow the names of four hundred and seventy-one prisoners ordered to be inserted in the pardon. One sentence in this opinion of the Lord Chancellor, Sir Orlando Bridgman, is worthy of especial regard. Having noticed the cases of all those who had been legally convicted, either by summary process before a magistrate, or by petty session, or by a jury, he winds up with a sweeping expression, "*All the rest may be discharged.*" That multitudes were imprisoned without conviction, upon the mere verbal orders of a justice, there can be no doubt. These would be set at liberty without any formal pardon—even in Bunyan's case, no evidence was taken. In a conversation between him and the justice, and also with the clerk privately, *he denied* having offended any law whatever, and yet was sent to prison without redress.

On the following day, the 9th of May, 1672, Bunyan, being still a prisoner, he was, in pursuance of the declaration for liberty of conscience, licensed to be a teacher, being one of the first persons that were so registered, and his was also the first permission to preach given to any dissenter from the established sect in this country.

The volume from which these extracts are made is called Indulgences, 1672.—Under the head "Congregationall."

Bedford Licence for John Bunyon to be a teacher in the house of Josias Roughed 9 May 72.

CHARLES &c. To all Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables and other Our Officers and Ministers Civil and Military whom it may concerne, Greeting. In Pursuance of our Declaration of the 15th of March 167½ Wee doe hereby permitt and licence John Bunyon to bee a Teacher of the Congregation allowed by Us in the Howse of Josias Roughed Bedford for the use of such as doe not conforme to the Church of England, who are of the Perswasion commonly called Congregationall. With further licence and permission to him the said John Bunyon to teach in any other place licensed by Us according to our said Declaracion. Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 9th day of May in the 24th yeare of our Reigne, 1672.

By his Ma^tie^s Command
ARLINGTON.

At the same time the House of Josias Roughed was registered in the following form:—

A place for a Teacher in Bedford.

CHARLES &c. To all Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables and other Our Officers and Ministers Civill and Military, whom it may concerne, Greeting. In pursuance of Our Declaracôn of the 15 of March 167½ Wee have allowed and Wee doe hereby allow of the Howsè of Josias Roughed in Bedford to be a place for the use of such as doe not conforme to the Church of England who are of the Perswasion commonly called Congregationall to meet and assemble in, in order to their Publick Worship & devotion. And all and Singular Our Officers and Ministers Ecclesiasticall Civill and Military, whom it may concerne are to take due notice hereof, And they and every of them are hereby strictly charged and required to hinder any Tumult or Disturbance, & to protect them in their said Meetings & Assemblies. Given at &c the 9th day of May in the 24th yeare of Our Reigne 1672

By his Ma^ties^ Command
ARLINGTON.

The Church of Christ at Bedford is here called Congregational. In ten months about three thousand five hundred of these licences were granted, only one being at Bedford; many were for persons and places called *Anabapt*, all others were under the term Congregational. Philip Henry was Indulged "in his house, Malpas Parish in Flintshire." Thomas Senior and Henry Ashurst, in their respective houses at Clapton, in Hackney. Bunyan's church could not fairly be called *Anabapt*, because it consisted of members some of whom had not been baptized in or with water, some christened in infancy, and others immersed on a profession of their faith.

Mr. Roughed, whose house was licensed for Bunyan to preach in, was plundered a few months previously for refusing to go to church. To attend such a place was one month a violation of the law, visited with ruinous fines and imprisonments, and the next month places are licensed according to law, for any person to attend instead of going to church. Law-makers must ever be the scorn and derision of the world, when they interfere with divine and spiritual worship.

About this time George Whitehead, one of the most useful and leading members of the Society of Friends, became deeply affected with the cruel punishments that his brethren

and sisters were suffering for Christ's sake. He was a man who with equal composure and zeal could plead before royalty and nobles in a state apartment, or impart consolation to a suffering Christian in a dungeon or a pest-house. He thus mentions it in his Journal—"After the declaration of March 15, 1672, a very weighty and tender concern fell upon my spirit with respect to our dear friends then in prison, being about four hundred straitly confined."[1] Unfortunately he gives no date as to when, while enjoying a solitary walk, this impression was made upon his mind. It was certainly *after* the declaration for Liberty of Conscience. Immediately upon that declaration, orders had been sent for a return of all such prisoners as ought under its provisions to be released. This return had been submitted to Sir Orlando Bridgman, the Keeper of the Great Seal, and his report was taken into consideration by the Privy Council, on the 8th of May, and judging from other entries in Whitehead's Journal, it appears to have been about or after that time, that his feelings were excited by heavenly charity to seek the release of his suffering friends. He then consulted a friend, Thomas Moor, who had some influence with the king, and having written a letter, it gained them access to his Majesty in Council, and he in answer to their entreaties on behalf of their friends, who were suffering cruel imprisonments merely for conscience' sake, said,—"I'le pardon them." They then obtained a warrant to the Attorney-general, for a free pardon, of which the following is a copy:—

Our will and pleasure is, that you prepare a bill for the royal signature, and to pass our Great Seal of England, containing our gracious pardon unto [here follow the prisoners' names]. Of all offences, contempts and misdemeanours by them, or any of them committed before the 21st day of July 1672, against the several statutes made in the first, twenty-third, and thirty-fifth years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; in the third year of the reign of our late royal grandfather, King James; and in the 16th year of our reign—in not coming to church and hearing divine service; in refusing to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and frequenting or being present at seditious conventicles; and of all premunires, judgments, convictions, sentences of excommunication, and transportation thereupon; and of all fines, amercements, pains, penalties, and forfeitures whatsoever,

[1] Whitehead's Christian Progress, 8vo, 1725, p. 350.

thereby incurred, with restitution of lands and goods, and such other clauses, and *non obstantes*, as may render this our pardon most effectual; for which this shall be your warrant.

Given at our Court at Whitehall the — day of June, in the twenty-fourth year of our reign.

But now a new and very serious difficulty presented itself in the shape of enormous fees, in the different offices through which the pardon had to pass; these amounted to between twenty and thirty pounds for each person whose name was inserted in it. Whitehead again applied to the king, and at length all difficulties were removed by the following order:—

"His Majesty is pleased to command, that it be signified as his pleasure to the respective officers and sealers, where the pardon to the Quakers is to pass, that the pardon, though comprehending great numbers of persons, do yet pass as one pardon, and pay but as one.

"ARLINGTON.

"At the Court at Whitehall,
the 13th of Sep. 1672."

Whitehead adds, "Though we had this warrant from the king, yet we had trouble from some of the covetous clerks, who did strive hard to exact upon us."

This indefatigably benevolent man, speaking from memory, says, that "the other dissenters were prisoners in Bedfordshire, Kent, and Wiltshire, as I remember in the same instrument with our friends." The fact is, that the original list was of Quakers *and others;* and the additional names were prisoners in Kent, Devon, Exon, Sussex, and Durham. The merit of his exertions is heightened by knowing that when the king said, "I'le pardon them," he included all dissenters, Bunyan among the others, according to the list first prepared by his Attorney-general, and not any list of George Whitehead's, still he exerted himself just the same, as if they had all been members of the Society of Friends. His words are, "Our being of different judgments, did not abate my compassion or charity, even towards those who had been my opposers in some cases. Blessed be the Lord my God, who is the father and fountain of mercies, whose love and mercies in Christ Jesus to us, should oblige us to be merciful and kind one to

another, we being required to love mercy, as well as to do justly, and to walk humbly with the Lord our God."

This original patent, with the Great Seal attached to it, is carefully preserved by the Society of Friends, in their archives at Devonshire House, and it contains the names of twenty prisoners, not included in the order of Privy Council. But Bunyan's name is in both. It is in Latin in the usual form, prepared by Mr. Nicolls, the principal clerk to the Attorney-General, to the following effect:—

"Charles the Second by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, Defender &c. To all to whom the present letters shall come greeting—Know ye that we moved with piety [1] of our special grace, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, Have pardoned, remitted and released and by these presents for us our heirs and successors Do pardon, remit and release to Edward Pattison, John Ellis, Arthur Cooke and Richard Cannon prisoners in our Gaol of Newgate within our City of London."

And in the same form the prisoners are named in the other gaols throughout the kingdom. The following were fellow sufferers at that time in Bedford Gaol:—

"John Fenn, John Bunnion, John Dunn, Thomas Haynes, George Farr, James Rogers, John Rush, Tabitha Rush, and John Curfe, Prisoners in the Common Gaol for our County of Bedford. The names and places of imprisonment having been given of the four hundred and ninety-one prisoners—to each of them —or by whatsoever other names or name—surname—addition of name—Art—Office—Mystery or Place they—are known deemed called or named or lately was known &c. All and all manner crimes transgressions offences of premunire—unlawful conventicles contempts and ill behaviour whatsoever—by himself alone or with any other person howsoever whensoever or in what manner soever or wheresoever advised commanded attempted done perpetrated or committed before the thirtieth day of July last past before the date of these presents, against the form of the Statute &c. In witness of which thing we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness myself at Westminster the 13th of September in the twenty-fourth year of our reign [1672.] By writ of Privy Seal. Pigott.

This instrument is extended by the forms of law, so that every name is repeated eleven times, and in which our worthy

[1] Charles II.'s notion of being pious must have arisen from the flattery bestowed upon his father, it being impossible to have arisen from any other source. "The conceptions of kings are as far above the vulgar, as their condition is; for being higher elevated, and walking upon the battlements of sovereignty, they sooner receive the inspirations of heaven."—Howel's Dodona's Grove, p. 61. [Why not conduct divine service over the dome of St. Paul's?]

sufferer's name is spelt in four different ways. Bunnion twice, Bunyan five times, Bunnyon onee, and Bunnyan three times. It is singular that he spelt his own name in different ways in the early part of his life, and on the drawing of his portrait by White it is spelt John Bunion, while on the engraving done by the same artist it is John Bunnyon.[1] The names inserted in this pardon are four hundred and ninety-one.

Bunyan having had a very sharp controversy with the Quakers, it is a strong manifestation of their Christian spirit that he certainly obtained his release through their instrumentality; for they paid all the expenses of getting the royal grant, and also of having it served throughout the kingdom; and to do this with speed, many of the prisoners being in a dying state with the severity of their sufferings, duplicates of the pardon were made and authenticated, and messengers were despatched throughout the country to set the prisoners at liberty. At first, Whitehead and his friends took the patent with them, and produced it at the assizes and quarter sessions. With some reluctance on the part of the persecuting justices, they consented to discharge the prisoners named in the patent, not daring to disobey the Royal mandate. They then discovered that some of the pious sufferers had still been omitted, notwithstanding the return made by the sheriffs, and the additions which had been made at Whitehead's request, before the great seal was attached. On behalf of these they pleaded effectually, and they also were discharged from confinement.

It is said that Bishop Barlow interceded for Bunyan; but if he did, there is no record or petition to that effect preserved either in the State Paper or Privy Council Offices. He was not then a bishop, but possessed great influence, and had written, "The Case of a Toleration in Matters of Religion," which he extended further than any divine of that age. This, and his friendship with Dr. Owen, might have given rise to the report. Barlow became afterwards a trimmer, and

[1] Print Room, British Museum.

sided with the court party,—a very natural effect of his elevation into bad company.

My conviction is, that Bunyan owed his release to the desolating effects produced by a wholesale persecution visiting tens of thousands who dared not, as they valued the honour of Christ or the salvation of their souls, attend the national, and in their opinion, anti-scriptural, service; and that the Privy Council, finding that the country must be plunged into revolution or ruin if the wretched system of compulsive uniformity was continued, determined to relax its severity, grant liberty of worship, and discharge the prisoners. As this could not be done by proclamation, and the prisoners were too poor to sue out a patent individually, much difficulty and delay might have arisen to prevent their discharge. This was removed by the active benevolence of George Whitehead. The appeal which he and his friends made, was allowed; and he appears to have obtained the insertion of twenty names, which were not in the Privy-Council list, to be added to the pardon. Whitehead's *concern* appears to have been *after* the great list had been made in which Bunyan's name was included. Still, he was deeply indebted to that excellent member of the Society of Friends for the payment of the fees and for sending his release to the prison, and so far, for obtaining his liberty. By this patent, all fines were remitted, and that without finding security for future conduct.

Charles Doe states that on the 21st of December, 1671, while Bunyan was yet a prisoner, he was by the church at Bedford called to the pastoral office. This was in or about the last of his twelve years' imprisonment; and being out, he preached the gospel publicly at Bedford, and about the countries, and at London, with very great success, being mightily followed everywhere.[1] He possessed a devoted wife, to whom he was married about the year 1658, he being then a widower with four children. His marriage to his first wife, one of his biographers says, "proves, too, I readily grant, that she had

[1] The Struggler.

little prudence."[2] If by prudence he means worldly pelf Bunyan valued it not: they were happy in their union, and she was highly honoured. Had she been unhappy, he would have been charged as the cause of her unhappiness. She was the chosen vessel to assist him in obtaining the treasures of the gospel, and must be honoured as one of the means by which he was prepared to publish his universal guide to Christian pilgrims. His second wife, who pleaded his cause with such modest intrepidity before the judges, must have assisted him greatly in arranging his affairs. One of his oldest biographers tells us, that "when he came abroad again, he found his temporal affairs were gone to wreck, and he had, as to them, to begin again, as if he had newly come into the world; but yet he was not destitute of friends, who had all along supported him with necessaries, and had been very good to his family, so that, by their assistance getting things a little about him again, he resolved, as much as possible, to decline worldly business, and give himself wholly up to the service of God."[3] A circumstance which took place on the 6th of November, 1673, must have greatly comforted him. His sufferings and ministry were a blessing to his son Thomas, who not only became a member of his church, but was set apart as an occasional preacher, and exercised his ministerial gifts in the villages round Bedford. In six years after his liberation, he had published nine valuable treatises, among which were his controversial books with his Baptist brethren; and then he, having overcome all his scruples, published, although against the wish of some of his friends, the first part of this greatest of all his labours, his *vade-mecum* of the heaven-ward pilgrim, by which his memory is embalmed and his name diffused throughout all the Christian churches of every sect and denomination.

[2] Mr. Philip, p. 24. [3] Life, 18mo, 1692; re-published by Ivimey, 1832; p. 31.

WAS BUNYAN ASSISTED IN THE COMPOSITION OF HIS PILGRIM?

To this question take his own reply:

"Some say the *Pilgrims Progress* is not mine,
Insinuating as if I would shine
In name and fame by the worth of another,
Like some made rich by robbing of their Brother.
Or that so fond I am of being Sire,
I'le father Bastards: or if need require,
I'le tell a lye in Print to get applause.
I scorn it; *John* such dirt-heap never was,
Since God converted him. Let this suffice
To shew why I my *Pilgrim* Patronize.
It came from mine own heart, so to my head,
And thence into my fingers trickled;
Then to my Pen, from whence immediately
On Paper I did dribble it daintily.
Manner and matter too was all mine own,
Nor was it unto any mortal known,
'Till I had done it. Nor did any then
By Books, by wits, by tongues, or hand, or pen,
Add five words to it, or wrote half a line
Thereof: the whole, and ev'ry whit is mine.
Also for *This*,[1] thine eye is now upon,
The matter in this manner came from none,
But the same heart, and head, fingers and pen,
As did the other. Witness all good men;
For none in all the world without a lye,
Can say that this is mine, excepting I.
I write not this of any ostentation,
Nor 'cause I seek of men their commendation;
I do it to keep them from such surmize,
As tempt them will my name to scandalize.
Witness my name, if Anagram'd to thee,
The Letters make, Nu honey in a B.

"JOHN BUNYAN."

"I dare not presume to say, that I know I have hit right in every thing; but this I can say, I have endeavoured so to do. True, I have not for these things fished in other men's waters; my Bible and Concordance are my only library in my writings."[2]

[1] The Holy War. [2] Preface to Solomon's Temple Spiritualized.

He who doubts the word of John Bunyan, knows nothing of the character and soul of a man who suffered nearly thirteen years' imprisonment in Bedford Gaol rather than utter a falsehood, or use the slightest simulation. Such objectors deserve chastisement in Doubting Castle, and should be flogged with the Royal garter, "Honi soit qui mal y pense." But such there have been from 1678 to a late period; and the same feeling which led the Scribes and Pharisees to reject the Messiah, because he appeared as the son of a carpenter, probably has led authors of great repute to express their doubts as to the originality of the Pilgrim's Progress, because the author was an unlettered man,—the reason why, as his pastor says, "the archers shot so sorely at him."

Dr. Dibdin, in his Typographical Antiquities, describing Caxton's Pilgrimage of the Soul, says: "This extraordinary production, rather than Bernard's Isle of Man, laid the foundation of John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress."[3] The late Dr. Adam Clarke, in a Postscript to a Life of Bunyan, observes, that "his whole plan being so very similar to Bernard's religious allegory, called the Isle of Man, or Proceedings in Manshire; and also to that most beautiful allegorical poem by Mr. Edmund Spencer, oddly called the Fairy Queen, there is much reason to believe that one or other, if not both, gave birth to the Pilgrim's Progress."[4]

Mr. Montgomery, a devoted admirer of Bunyan's genius, considers that the print and the verses entiled *The Pilgrim*, in Whitney's Emblems, dedicated to the Earl of Leicester, in 1585, might perhaps have inspired the first idea of this extraordinary work."[5]

Southey, who investigated this subject with great ability, came to a very pointed conclusion: "It would indeed be as impossible for me to believe that Bunyan did not write the Pilgrim's Progress, as that Porson did write a certain copy of verses entitled the Devil's Thoughts." Now as these verses were doubtless written by Southey himself, he had

[3] Vol. i. p. 153.

[4] Bunyan's Pilgrim: an Epic Poem by C. C. V. G., 1844. p. 44.

[5] Montgomery's Christian Poet.

arrived at a conviction that Bunyan was fully entitled to all the honour of conceiving and writing his great allegory. Still, he says, "the same allegory had often been treated before him. Some of these may have fallen in Bunyan's way, and modified his own conceptions when he was not aware of any such influence."[6] It is high time that these questions were fully investigated and set at rest.

It must be kept in mind, that Bunyan knew no language but his own. When he used five common Latin words in Dr. Skill's prescription, "Ex carne et Sanguine Christi," this perfectly unassuming author tells his readers, in a marginal note, "*The Latine I borrow.*" It is absurd to suppose that learned men read to him old monkish manuscripts, or the allegories of a previous age; for his design was unknown, he had formed no plan, nor had he any intention to have written such a book, until it came upon him suddenly. His first idea was inspired from one of his own works while composing it, and then the whole story flowed into his mind as quick as he could write it. Every attempt has been made to tarnish his fair fame: the great and learned, the elegant poet and the pious divine, have asserted that some of his ideas were founded upon the works of previous writers.

Every assertion or suggestion of this kind that came to my knowledge, has been investigated, and the works referred to have been analysed. And beyond this, every allegorical work that could be found previous to the eighteenth century, has been examined in all the European languages; and the result is a perfect demonstration of the complete originality of Bunyan. "It came from his own heart." The plot, the characters, the faithful dealing, are all his own. And what is more, there has not been found a single phrase or sentence borrowed from any other book, except the quotations from the Bible and the use of common proverbs. To arrive at this conclusion has occupied much time and labour, at intervals, during the last forty years. The works read and analysed commence with our monkish manuscripts, and continue

[6] Southey's Life of Bunyan, p. xc.

through the printed books published prior to the reformation, when the church having no competition in the cure of souls, spoke out without disguise; and from that time to 1678, when our Pilgrim appeared. Many, if not all the works so examined, contain useful information, and some of them show what was taught by the church of England when she refused the Bible to the laity, and was unreformed. And as my readers ought to judge for themselves, while, in most cases, these rare volumes are beyond their reach, it may prove useful to print these analyses, and then every reader can form his own opinion as to the probability, or rather the impossibility, of Bunyan's having gained any idea, or phrase, or name, from any source but his own prolific imagination. My determination in all these researches has been to report the whole truth; and had it been discovered that some hints might have been given by previous writers, it would not have been any serious reflection upon the originality of a work which has no prototype. This idea is well represented by Mr. Montgomery: "If the Nile could be traced to a thousand springs, it would still be the Nile; and so far undishonoured by its obligations, that it would repay them a thousand fold, by reflecting upon the nameless streams the glory of being allied to the most renowned of rivers."[6] But there has been no discovery of any tributary spring; no borrowed phrases; no more hints, even, than such as naturally arise from the open treasury or storehouse of Holy Writ.

The greatest characteristic of original genius is its spontaneous exertion,—the evidence of having written without labour and without the consciousness of doing anything remarkable, or the ambitious aim of doing a great work. The greatest efforts of genius flow as naturally as it is for common men to breathe. In this view, Bunyan's work comes nearer to the inspired poetry of the Hebrews in its character, than any other human composition. He wrote from the impulse of his genius, sanctified and illuminated by a

[6] Introductory Essay to the Pilgrim's Progress, Collins, p. xxv.

heavenly influence; as if, indeed, he had exerted no voluntary supervision over its exercise. Everything is as natural and unconstrained as if it had not been intended for public inspection. There has not been found any model with which it can even be compared.[7] It is a beautiful transparency, seen as the heavenly light shines through—the renewed spirit alone enjoys the picture in its perfection, with all its chaste but glowing colours. It can be fully appreciated only by him who possesses that spiritual light without which the things of God and heaven cannot be discerned.

In examining the following accounts of allegories composed by learned doctors, bishops, and divines, the simple Christian will rejoice and triumph in the amazing superiority of a poor unlettered preaching mechanic, guided only by his Bible. Sanctified learning is exceedingly valuable; yet the productions of an unlettered man, wholly influenced by the Holy Oracles, shines resplendently over the laboured, murky productions of lettered men, who, forsaking the simplicity of the gospel, are trammelled with creeds, confessions, canons, articles, decretals, fathers, and grandfathers.

The first work, in the order of time, that claims our notice, has never been printed. It is called:

The Pilgrim.

This ancient poem, a manuscript on vellum, illustrated with drawings, but very much damaged, is in the Cottonian Collection at the British Museum; probably translated in the fifteenth century from the first of the Three Pilgrimages, a French manuscript. It is in the form of a Dream, and it concludes by fixing the pilgrim as a monk in a Cistercian monastery. Soon after setting out, he is tempted by a golden image, but is driven from it by the appearance of a dead corpse. He then encounters an armed man, who endeavours to entice him to turn aside to see his mistress, and uses a magic circle and incantations. They hold a long conversation, in which is narrated the case of a Duke Fryse, who had consented to be baptized; he is represented with a girdle about his middle, otherwise naked, except his crown; but when he had got into the baptistery, he becomes alarmed by a voice which informs him that it is an unlucky day:

[7] Dr. Cheevers.

"For hym thought he herde a cry
That affermed certeynly
For synne and for Inyquyte
How mo folk schulde dampned be
At the day of Jugemente
Gon to helle there to be brent,
Ye mo as in comparisoun
Thanne folk for ther savacyon
Scholde that day receyued be
To dwelle in heuene that fayre cyte."

The duke, although a bishop has got him by one hand, with one of his legs in the baptistery; yet he gets his liberty, and runs away. Had sprinkling been in fashion in those days, the bishop might readily have managed the christening with a handful of water. The pilgrim then has a very long adventure with Heresy, who strives earnestly to draw him aside. She is engaged with a pair of scissors, cutting strips from Pelagians, Arians, and other "Sectys founde false and vntrewe." These she puts together, to form a new system of divinity. He becomes sadly puzzled; she had laid her nets so artfully, "In lond, on water, and in the hayr." He sees many attempt to pass, but all are entangled; at length, by *fasting* and by great penance, he *slips* through the nets.

He is then assaulted by Satan, who tells him that he has devoured thousands of Christ's flock, and has so many arts that he cannot escape him. The devil, to terrify the pilgrim, narrates a recent adventure, by which he had succeeded in destroying a holy hermit. He had transformed himself into an angel of light, and went to the hermit, warning him that Satan would soon overcome him if he was not courageous to resist; that he would appear to him in the shape of his father, and if he parleyed with the fiend, he must be lost; and exhorted him to smite the fiend at once with sword or knife. Soon after this, his father really came to visit him, when the deluded hermit plunged a dagger to his heart, and thus fell into the jaws of the fiend. The pilgrim, much terrified, kept crossing himself, at which Satan drew back; and by continuing to make the sign of the cross, he makes his escape. He is then stopped by Fortune and her Wheel, and by Idolatry, but evades them. A fortune-teller wishes him to have his nativity cast, but as he knows that many men are born at the same moment, some to fortune and many to misery, he knows that there can be no virtue in such consultations of the stars. He is then profited by images in churches, to remind us of the holy lives of saints:

"And vn to folkes many on [a one]
Ful greet proffyte also they don."

Sorcery endeavours to catch him with her crooked hook; and he is assailed by Worldly-gladness, but escapes. At length Grace Dieu visits him in a stately ship, having a palace and castle on deck. He embarks, and is shown a large baptistery, filled with tears from an eye in a rock. This bath is replenished with tears of repentance, by works of supererogation. Its virtues are thus described:

"For it re-cureth euery wounde
Call this Baptym the secunde

That dothe away alle greuaunce
With which water Dame penaunce
Makyth a lye I the ensure
To wasche away al ordure,
In whiche bath in certayne
The hooly womman Mawdelyne
Iwashen was tak heed her to
The Apostle Peter eke also
And many mo than I may telle
Were Iwaschen in this welle
And so schalt thou by reed of me
Yeue thou lyste to purged be."

Grace Dieu fills up the bath, and the pilgrim, naked, enters the baptistery to his middle, and is bathed and washed. She then tells him he may make his choice of monastic orders,—Cisterces, Clunys, Charterhous, or Preechers Minours : he chooses to enter the Cistercian order. The porter, "Dredc of God," at first refuses him ; but Charity receives and shows him over the establishment : he is shown many books. The librarian says :

"And my name zeue thou lyste be
Is called Agyographe,
Which is to seyne I the ensure
Of holy wrytynge the Scripture,
And at feyres and at feestis
I reste in skynnes off dede bestis."

She expresses a clear notion of the Old Testament as enlightened by the *New :*

"I mene as thus in sentement,
That the oolde testament
Were derke and cloudy off his syght
Zeue that it ne took his lyght
Claryfyed by entendement
Off the newe testament,
Whos schynynge in conclusyoun
Is cause off our Salvacyoun."

He is shown a mirror, which exhibits the sins of the person who looks in it ; he is also shown one of Flattery's mirrors, which exhibits the most defiled as angels of purity. He is at length introduced to the chief prior, Obedience, and sits down to dinner :

"And also as I dyde obserue,
Noon other folke at mete serue
But folkes deede euere more
Where off I was abaschyd sore."

Abstinence is the freytourer and butler ; the servants were the skeletons of

those who had founded and endowed the abbey. Wilful Poverty, in a state of nudity, sings a song, ending with :

" I slepe in Joye and sekerness
For theues may not robbe me."

Unwilling Poverty sits grumbling and murmuring. Dame Chastity at last introduces the pilgrim to Prayer, who makes him welcome in these lines :

" Wherefore callyd I am Prayere
Whiche that am the messagere
That flee to heuene with whynges lyght,
Fer aboue the sterres bryght
To fore the lord to present
Prayer made in good entente."

He then speaks to the pilgrim about the servants, who were the spectres of the founders :

" And eche wyght for his good dede
Is worthi to resseyue his mede
Lyke his meryte off equyte
These deede folk which thou dost se."

Grace Dieu, Obedience, Latrya, and Prayer, then give him instructions for his future conduct in the monastery, where he remains until death strikes him, and he awakes from his sleep.

There is an ancient pilgrimage noticed in Skelton's *Ryght Delectable Treatyse upon a Goodly Garlande or Chapelet of Laurell.* The author recounts his literary labours, *inter alia :*

" Of my ladys grace at the contemplacyoun
Owt of frenshe in to englysshe prose
Of mannes lyfe the peregrynacioun
He did translate, enterprete and disclose."

No copy of this pilgrimage has been discovered and identified as his ; and very high authority connects the second line with the " peregrynatioun." If so, it is in prose : but if the first *two* lines refer to the Contemplation on the Virgin Mary's Grace, a prose work, and Skelton being a poet, it would lead us to infer that the pilgrimage was in verse. The poem last described may prove to be the translation referred to by Skelton. Be that as it may, Bunyan never gained a hint from John Skelton, the satirist.

The Abbey of the Holy Ghost.

This curious allegory was written by John Alcocke, the founder of Jesus College, Cambridge, a learned and abstemious English bishop, in the reign of Henry VII.

The author represents the fall and recovery of mankind under the simile of an Abbey, the inmates of which are perfect in holiness and happiness. The abbess is Charity; the prioress, Wisdom; the sub-prioress, Mekeuesse; and the nuns, Poverty, Cleanness, Temperance, Soberness, Penance, Buxomness, Confession, Righteousness, Predication, Strength, Pacience, Simplicity, Mercy, Largeness, Reason, Pity, Meditation, Orison, Devocion, Contemplation, Chastity, Jubilation, Honesty, Curtesy, Fear, and Jealousy. This abbey was conveyed by the Almighty to Adam, Eve, and their heirs for ever, upon condition that he withstood the temptation of the fiend *and that of his wife*. The deed is witnessed by angels and man, heaven and earth, sun and moon, stars, and all creatures. Geven at Paradise, the first day that man was made; in the year of the reigning of Almighty God, King of kings, whose kingdom never began nor never shall have end. No persons were to be admitted until Conscience had cleansed the soul with grace of the Holy Ghost. Two maidens, called Love and Righteousness, shall cast away from Conscience all manner of filth; Meekness and Poverty shall keep them poor in spirit.

The abbey was situated upon the waters of repentance. Joy and Mercy built the walls and strengthened them with alms. Patience and Strength are the pillars and buttresses. The nuns have each her place: Contemplation is the doctor; Devotion the butler [the bishop remarks, "Alas! if I durst say, full many be in religion (nuns), but few be religious"]; Oryson shall be chanter. St. Bernard saith, When we pray in good life, our good Angel danseth and maketh thereof a present to the Father of heaven. The abbey being so well furnished, a tyrant came, and in an evil hour, while the portress was absent, he put in his four daughters, who were all of shrewd manners: the fiend father of them all. Their names were Pride, Envy, False Judgment, and Lust; and these destroyed the abbey, and dispersed the inmates. The punishment of man was the loss of Paradise, to spend his days in sorrow, to eat grass that groweth on the earth, and never to come to bliss until the abbey was restored. When Adam and Eve died, their souls went to hell; and not only they, but all those that of them came for four thousand six hundred years: to hell they went, every one. Then some of the nuns prayed the Holy Ghost for assistance. David, Isaiah, and others endeavoured to re-edify the abbey; but in vain. At length Christ came, and sought out the abbess and her company for thirty-three years; and at last brought them together by hanging on the cross; after which he led them with him into hell,[1] and took out Adam and Eve his wife, and all his friends, and replaced them in the Abbey of the Holy Ghost in Paradise.

From this curious and very rare little volume, Bunyan could not have gained any idea; but in it are some translations of passages of Scripture made fifty years before any version of the Bible was published in English: Matt. iii. 2, "Shrive ye and do ye penance, and be ye of good belief; the kingdom of heaven nigheth fast." John viii. 6: "He stooped down and wrote on the ground with his finger all their sins, so that each of them might se how sinfull other was." Matt. xxvi. 38: "I have, he said, full much dread against that I shall die. Sit ye down, he said, and wake ye, and bid your beads till I come again to you."[2]

[1] Hence "the descent into hell" in a popish creed falsely called "the Apostles' Creed."

[2] From a copy in my own library, printed by Wynkin de Worde.

The Pylgremage of the Sowle. Printed by William Caxton. 1483. Small Folio.[3]

Dr. Dibdin having, in his account of this very rare volume, stated, that "this extraordinary production, which, perhaps, rather than Bernard's 'Isle of Man,' laid the foundation of John Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress,' I shall make no apology to the reader for the following specimens of its poetry and prose." Not daring to trust to the doctor's specimens, which occupy eight folio pages, my analysis is drawn from a careful perusal of the original edition by Caxton, compared with the manuscript written in 1413; the result is, to establish honest John's originality, and to excite great surprise that the learned doctor could have published so unfounded an insinuation.

As I laye in a seynt laurence nyght, slepyng in my bedde, me bifelle a ful merueylous dreme.

Having finished my pilgrimage and laid aside my fleshly carrion, it appeared loathsome and dame Misericord buried it. The fowle horrible Satan cruelly menaced me and told me I was his prisoner—a youngling of full huge beauty appeared, and defends the soul of the pilgrim, who is taken to judgement. He is brought before Michael, while his good angel pleads for him Satan cries loudly against him. The devils complain that as soon as a pilgrim is born and washed in the salt lye (christened) Grace Dieu assigns them a guardian angel—we are ill used, let us cry a row so loud that in spite of them they shall hear our complaint. Peter the porter of heaven is called to testify whether the pilgrims have done penance—Call St. George for the Gentiles, for clerks St. Nicholas, for hermits St. Anthony, St. Benet for monks, for wedded folk St. Paul—not that he was ever married, but he taught the duties of marriage—for widows St. Anne, for maids St. Katherine. The Pilgrim is placed before the tribunal, and his guardian angel pleads that he had kept his belief, never lost his scrip, nor his *burden*[4] and had persevered to the end, he ought to be safe. The cursed Satan acknowledged that the Pilgrim passed the water and was therein washed and fully cleansed of all rather fylthe,[5] but as soon as he knew good and evil he set little by that washing, but cast himself like a swine in ordure and fylthe. He was washed at a tender age unwillingly, and although by this laver the foul spot of sin original was utterly avoided, yet he has not kept the vow, and is more spotted with deadly sin than he was before he was washed; and as all heathen men that have never received this laver *belong to our Company* because they have it not, much more those that have received these gifts of Grace de Dieu and despised them he must be ours. The soul pleads in verse, he appeals to Jesus. Some of the lines are striking:

[3] British Museum, 21, d.

[4] The pilgrim's staff.

[5] Original sin.

"For though there ran a river from thy side,
That all the world doth fully overflow,
Thy grace is whole, as every man may know."

He then appeals to Mary :—

"Now be my help a blissful heaven's quene
Let somewhat of the grace on me be seen

I am be-knowen that I have done amiss
Eternal death deserved with my deed
But gracious Lady Queen of Heaven's bliss
Thou be my help and comfort in this nede
I am that same that highly have mis-wrought
Against thy child Jesus and eke thee
Yet know I well that Lion is he not
Nor thou nor might no Lioness be
In thou there is no malice nor cruelty

Though that I have thy son and the agrieved
By thee is all my trust to be relieved."

He calls upon Michael—John Baptist, apostles and martyrs, and all saints.

Justice pleads against him and will allow none to speak on his behalf. He then answers for himself, and accuses Satan of being a liar ; but the fiend calls [1] *the worm of conscience* to bear witness against him, and he relates all his wickedness that was not purged with penance, and as he spoke Satan wrote it all down in a great paper. The soul defends himself by having at all times born his [2] burdon and scrip, by his natural frailty and the temptations of Satan and allurements of the world. Mercy pleads for him that he had been contrite, and made amends for sin, and had confessed ; but when his good and bad deeds were weighed, the evil was heaviest. Then Mercy flew to heaven and brought back a pardon from Jesus, which is given in verse, *inter alia :*

"At instance of mine own mother sweet
To whom I may no manner of thing deny
And mercy also may I not forget
Unto their good [3] myself I will apply
This grace I grant them of my royalty
That I shall them receive unto my peace
Of hell pain I grant them full release."

Christ balances his wicked works with :

"Of the treasure of my bitter passion
And of the merit of my mother dear
To whom none other hath comparison
With merit of my saints all in fear
That to my bidding full obedient were
Of plenty and of superabundance
A forset full which putteth in balance."

[1] Syndersys. [2] His staff or vows. [3] Bone

The balance is in favour of the soul, and his sentence is to bear all his sins as a burden into purgatory, and abide in the fire until all are burned and thou clean purged of all thy foul sins, shall then be pardoned. At this sentence Satan is sore annoyed, and has great anguish.

He meets a number of pilgrims from purgatory, who sing to the Trinity and to Mary a song of praise for their deliverance. The angels join in a song without comparison more lusty than he had heard before. Then came one pilgrim, conducted by an huge number of angels, each having in his hand some lusty instrument, as harp, organs, some of which he could not describe. It was a soul who, by extraordinary penance, had suffered his purgatory on earth. He then sees a number of pilgrims condemned to "brenne withynne the fyre of helle, neuer to be releued." An ugly company of devils seized them, saying, "Goo we fast in to helle; there shall we fynde a warm duellynge place." Our poor pilgrim is taken to purgatory, where, in three days, he imagines that he has suffered a thousand years' indescribable tortures. His guardian-angel is with him in the fire, but being a pure spirit, suffereth not. In his torments, he is told that naught can help him but masses and the good "dedes of hooly chirche." He asks, what is the use of the pardons and indulgences granted by the church? His angel tells him that they abridge the time of punishment and pain; that for every deadly sin he must suffer seven years' purgation, and the thousand years that he had suffered was but as a moment, for his fardel of sins seemed to be as huge as ever, although the fire was so fierce, that if the great sea fell therein, it would be dried in a moment. At length, Grace Dieu sends from the church a quantity of prayers, masses, and good works to comfort the pilgrims in purgatory,—a packet to each prisoner, with the names of those who had purchased the masses for their relief. Every soul answered the summons and greedily took the relief, all swimming in hot fire: it was ointment that relieved their horrid pains and decreased their burden of sins. He then discovers the place in which Adam and the fathers to John the Baptist were confined till Christ descended into hell and released them. The prison also in which the souls of infants who had died without being christened,—a dark and doleful place, where they will be shut up for ever. He inquires how it is possible for the God of love thus to condemn the innocent? His angel refers him to the words of Christ to Nicodemus: "As seynt John recordeth, he seith, *that an innocent deyng without baptym is dampned withouted ende.*"[4] And they lay in endless darkness, and never know joy; and this pain shall be extended to all the most innocent souls not baptized. All these places of punishment are within enclosed all round by the earth. He is then led by his angel to the surface of the earth, he fire still burning within him, to every place in which he had committed sin; the punishment was according to the nature of his crime,—sometimes shut up in thick ice, the pain being more intolerable than fire. This was for having used baths and steues[5] for easement of his body. One soul who had been purged, could not escape, because his executors had neglected to pay his debts. He finds that one day's penance upon earth cleanseth from sins more than years of purgatory. In the journey he finds his bones, and has a long conversation with them, in which they mutually criminate each other.

His guardian angel then takes him into the very depth of the earth, to hell, the stink of which nearly caused his soul to burst. The unbaptized *innocents* he saw

[4] Strange perversion of the words, 'Ye must be born again!'

[5] Brothels.

in a place: "Hit was wonder merueylous blacke and derke ynowe:" ever flying about seeking, but never finding, a hole to escape. He then came to a darker place of "fire horrible and wonder hideous." There saw he the cursed fiends; some blew the fire; some with iron forks, righted the brands; some with sharp hooks, dressed the wretched souls into divers pains. Lucifer sat in a red-hot iron chair, chained with red-hot chains. The devils torment each other. The punishment of Pride is that a devil sits upon her head, and befouls her as much as he can. Hypocrites are trodden perpetually under foot by devils, engulphed in fire and stink. The envious and backbiters were hung by red-hot iron hooks through their tongues over eternal flames. Judas thus hung, but as his mouth had kissed the king, his lips shined like gold; but his tongue was drawn out by his neck, and he hung in hottest flames. Traitors were broken upon wheels, fixed by hooks, turning swiftly round: the same punishment was inflicted upon lawyers, proctors, and counsel, who had pleaded for the guilty against the innocent, to fill their purses. Upon seeing a number of souls being devoured by wolves, but never eaten; others having molten brass poured down their throats, he swooned, but is revived by his angel. These were the punishments of extortioners. Angry people were tied up in bundles, and pitched into fiery furnaces; drunkards were laid upon burning coals, with sulphur, their throats slit, and tongues drawn through the slit; the lechours were laid upon beds of burning thorns, full of venomous and huge toads and worms, for ever biting and gnawing them. The boiling cauldron and pit of hell was boiling full of heretics; and when our Lord shall renew the world, all their burning and stinking and horrible pains shall be renewed, and all the filth that may be found in every other place shall be cast thereto. He then ascends to the earth, and sees the tree from which Eve plucked the apple, and which, after process of time, formed the cross on which the Saviour suffered. Then follows a number of dialogues between the Trinity, regarding the scheme of mercy. His purgation being finished, and sins consumed, his angel took him by the hand, and began to mount towards heaven. The angel shows him many mansions; tells him how saints' days are to be kept. In the feast of the Purification, the cherubims sing this song:

"Heryed be thou blysfull heuen quene
And worshyped mote thou be in euery place
That moder art and very mayden clene
Of god our lord thou geten hast that grace
Thou cause of ioyes arte, and of solace
By meryte of thy great humylyte
And by the floure of thy vyrgynyte

Honoured be thou, blessyd lady bryght
By thy person embelysshed is nature
Of heuen blysse augmented is the lyght
By presence of so fayre a creature
Thy worthynesse passeth al mesure
For vnto thyn estate Imperyall
No preysynge is that may be peregal."

In the feast of Ascension the father honoured the sone; and at the feast of Assumpcion, the Son honoured and worshipped his mother.

Song of angels on Easter day:

> "When thou were dead to hell thou descended
> And fetched them out that lay there in pain."

The angel illustrates to him the doctrine of the Trinity, by the world being round without beginning or end; having breadth, length, and depth, which three, by unity in measure, comprises one world. So in a body, is matter, form, and substance: if one of these be missing, it is imperfect. So the matter is likened to the Father, the form to the Son, and the substance to the Holy Ghost. So to every perfect work, there must be might, cunning, and will. He then asks, that as these three are one, how came it that one was separated and became incarnate alone? This is accounted for, as a sun-beam does not leave the sun, but enliveneth the earth; so the Son illuminated the world, being clothed with man's flesh in the blessed maiden, and yet departed he not from his Father's presence. When properly prepared, the angel went to prepare his way to heaven, and as he looked after him, a "wonder huge light" descended from the high heaven, smiting on his eye, and awoke him from his sleep; whereof he was full sorry, after having seemed to live so many thousand years; the clock struck twelve and the bell tolled midnight, and he remembered that he had not slept three hours while all these adventures had passed. Now Jesus give us grace to come to this bliss! Translated in 1413, and printed by W. Caxton, June 6th, 1483.

There is in the British Museum[4] a very fine and curious MS. copy of this very singular work, illustrated with rude illuminated drawings. It finishes with: "Here endith the dreem of the pilgrimage of the soule, translated owt of the Frensch in to Englysche. The yere of our Lord M.CCCC.XIII." The translator craves indulgence, if "in som places ther it be ouer fantastyk nought grounded nor foundable in holy scripture, ne in doctoers wordes, for I myght not go fro myn auctor."

The original work was written in verse by Guillaume de Guillonville, prior of Chaalis, about 1330.

The Booke of the Pylgrymage of Man. 4to, 26 leaves. Woodcut of Pilgrim, with staff and cockle-shell, and clasped book in his left hand.[5]

Here begynneth a boke in Frenche, called le pelerynage de L'homme (in latyn, peregrinatio humani generis), and in oure Maternal tunge, the pylgrymage of mankynd, of late drawen and in compendiouce prose cōpoūded by the reuerent father in god dane william hendred Prioure of the honourable place and pryory of Leomynstre; and now newly at the specyal commaundemente of the same Father reuerent I haue compyled the tenure of the same in Metre comprehended in xxvi. chaptours as ensuynge appereth.

[4] Addit. MSS., Bibl. Eg. 615. It was bought of Mr. Rodd, 1836; but appears to want the first leaf of the text.

[5] This rare book is in the library of Queen's College, Oxford. I am indebted to my friend Mr. Underhill for the above analysis.

THE TABLE.

First, the prologe, with the exposyon and enterpretacyon of the name of their sayd reuerent father in God.
Item how man was made of viij partyes. Capitulo primo.
Item how almyghty god put adam into paradyce, and of his first age. Ca. . ij
Item the secounde age of mankynde, and howe ꝯ sonnes of noe Bylded the Toure of Babylon. Cap. iij
Item how man procedyd his thirde age, and of the synkynge of cyties. Ca. iiij
Item howe Moyses receyuyd ij tables of the lawe in the iiij age of man. Ca. v
Item howe kyng Salamon byldyd the temple of god in the Cytie of Jerusalem. Ca. vi
Item howe the vj age enduryd telle che commynge of oure sauyoure. Ca. . vij
Item how mankynde endured and of the nombre of yeres from the begynnynge of the worlde to the byrthe of criste. Ca. . . . viij
Item howe almyghty God was pylgrym for iij causes and howe he gaue mankynde ensample to do his pylgrymage. Ca. . . . ix
Item which iij synguler poyntys apperteyne to a pylgryme. Ca. . x
Item howe mankynde entereth the londe of June at the age of lx. Ca. . xi
Item an exposicion autorysed by Scripture of ꝯ concepcion of seynt Johñ Baptyst. Ca. xij
Item howe mankynde entereth into a kyngdome namyd the londe of July and parte of the marterdome of seynt Thomas of cauntorbury. Ca. . xiij
Item a parable of auctorytie of the hooly order of seynt Benet. Ca. . xiiij
Item how mankynde enteryth the empyre of august and of the aboundaunte welth that there is. Ca. xv
Item howe mankynde enteryth and goeth thorowe the dukedome of September. Ca. xvj
Item howe mankynde enteryth into the londe of October at the age of a C. yere. Ca. xvij
Item how mankynde enteryth the barury of Nouembre. Ca. . . xviij
Item howe mankynde enteryth the lordshyp of December. Ca. . xix
Item howe mankynde goth thorowe the londe of January and of the strastye that coste. Ca. xx
Item howe mankynde enteryth the londe of February. Ca. . . xxi
Item howe man procedyth his pylgrymage in and thorowe the londe of Marche. Ca. xxij
Item howe Batayle was mayntaynd bytwene sol Justice and pluto duke o tenebris. Ca. xxiij
Item howe vyse toke the fowarde on his party, and howe sol Justicie fled. Ca. xxiiij
Item howe sol justicie turned agayne and dyscumfyte vyce and wanne the feld. Ca. xxv
Item the conclucyon of this boke. Ca. xxvi

Here endeth the table.

" We hym folowynge a full good spede.
Shortly anone the skrymysche beganne.
And so sure for matter in dede.
Uyce with his felysshyp faste layed on
That voce mea was agast soone.

Theune oure capteyne Sol iusticie.
With In manus tuas away dyd flye.
In to a darke vale that was nygh by.
But yet at the desyre and specyall request.
Of a gracyouse man callyd domine exaudi.
He came agayne and shortly in haste.
To ayde us there came one hyeng taste.
Whiche is callyd with all and some.
Benedictus qui venit ad prelium."

So he sets out with Beatus vir for a guide, and enters the land of June—a royal land, full of pleasures and fruits, of which he eat plenteously in every lane; then came to a place held by the "Pope of June," where was the cleanest castell in Xtendom called, "castell of corpus xpi."

"Of whiche indulgence by auctorytye
The founder is called by naturall sext
Of the romaynes romanus pontifex"

Where man could be healed from worldly wretchedness and sinful sore.

His guide then led him to dominus illuminatio for a safe conduct in all the lands they should visit:

"So for to purchas a parfyte wryte.
To soule justicie we toke our way.
Sealed to haue oure saffe condyte.
And he shortly sayde not nay.
But also haue us of his lyuery.
A fencyble garment Joyntly compyled.
With fayth and hope that we exiled."

They then come to a monastery, &c.

Emprynted at London by me Richard Faques, dwellyng in Poulys churche yerde at the sygne of the Maydynhed.

The informacym for pylgrymes unto the holy lande, That is to wyte to Rome, to Jherusalem and to Many Other Holy Places. Imprinted by Wynkin de Worde. 1524.[1]

This rare volume is a hand-book for pilgrims; gives the routes, coin, conveyances, fees, and other instructions to those who were going on any distant pilgrimage. It also contains the narrative of a pilgrim in his journey to the Holy Land. Sixty-six pilgrims sailed from Venice, in one ship; they visit Jerusalem and other places in the Holy Land. He gives the pronunciation of useful words to enable future visitors to ask for bread, wine, &c. It is a very rare tract, but there is nothing allegorical about the narrative, which is simply of the facts as they took place.

[1] Retrospective Review, Vol. II., p. 327.

The next allegorical work in chronological order representing life as a pilgrimage is

The Historie of Graunde Amoure and la bell Pucel; called the Pastime of Pleasure, containing the Knowledge of the Seven Sciences, and the Course of Man's Life in this Worlde. Invented by Stephen Hawes, Grome of King Henry the Seuenth his Chamber. Printed by John Waylande, 1554. Small 4to.

Such is the rarity of this volume that although it wants six leaves it bears this inscription on the fly leaf, "I bought this Volume at Mr. Bindley's sale, January 21st, 1813, for the inordinate sum of forty guineas. James Boswell (author of Dr. Johnson's pleasant twaddle)."

The narrative is of a love-sick knight in search of a lady, named La Bel Pucel. He is directed to the Tower of Doctrine, where he is told that he must become proficient in the seven liberal sciences, in order to win his lady.

Walking in a gay meadow, he finds a statue, whose hands point to two paths, one of contemplative life :—

"And in the other hande, ryght fayre wrytten was
This is the waye, of worldly dignitye
Of the actiue lyfe, who wyll in it passe
Unto the tower, of fayre dame beautye
Fame shall tell him, of the way in certaintye
Unto la bell pucell, the fayre lady excellent
Aboue all other, in cleare beauty splendent."

In pursuit of this beautiful virgin he chooses the path of active life, and sets out.

"Thus all alone, I began to trauayle
For the on my waye, by long continuaunce
But often times, I had great maruayle
Of the by pathes, so full of pleasaunce
Whiche for to take, I had great doubtance
But euermore, as nere as I myght
I toke the waye, whiche went before me right."

On his journey he falls asleep, and is awaked by the sound of a horn. A lovely lady, on horseback, rides swiftly up to him, accompained by two greyhounds, with their names set in diamonds upon their collars—Grace and Governaunce. The lady proves to be Fame, she presents to him the two greyhounds, praises la bell Pucell, and instructs him how to attain her in the tower of music, and she informs him that he will have great labour, and must pass through hard adventures before he will attain his object.

"For by the waye, there lye in waite
Gyantes great, disfigured of nature
That all deuoureth, by their euil conceite

Against whose strength, there may no man endure
They are so huge, and strong out of measure
With many serpentes, foule and odious
In sundry likenesse, blacke and tedious

But beyond them, a great sea there is
Beyonde whiche sea, there is a goodly land
Most full of fruite, replete with ioye and bliss
Of right fine golde, appeareth all the sande
In this faire realme, where the tower doth stand
Made all of golde, enameled aboute
With noble stories, whiche do appeare without."

He at length arrives at the Castle, when the portresse thus questions him:

"Tyll that I came to a royall gate
Where I sawe standyng the goodly portres
Whiche axed me, from whence I came alate
To whom I gan, in euery thing expresse
All myne aduenture, chaunce and busines
And eke my name, I tolde her euery dell
When she hearde thys, she liked me ryght well."

The portress, whose name was Countenaunce, introduced him into the castle, and in the fair hall upon the arras is portrayed the perils he will have to encounter; that folly will beset his path, but that correction will follow.

"And in her hande, a strong knotted whippe
At every iarte she made him for to skippe."

He finds that he will have to destroy a giant with three heads—another more fierce with four heads, and a third still more terrible with seven heads, and at length he will win and wed La Bell Pucell. The principal officers in the castle are thus named:

"The marshall, yclipped was dame Reason
And the yeures, also observaunce
The panter Pleasaunce, at euery season
The good Butler, curteys continuaunce
And the chiefe coke, was called temperaunce
The lady chamberlayne, named fidelitye
And the hye stewarde, Liberalitye."

He is then sent in succession to Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, and at length to Music. In the temple of music, he sees and falls deeply in love with La Bell Pucell. She returns his love, but informs him that he will have to brave many desperate adventures before they can be united. He promises to fit himself for all that may happen, and goes to Chivalry—he is taught by Minerva—harnessed and knighted.

"For first good hope, his legge harneys should be
His habergion, of perfect righteousnes
Gyrde fast, wyth the girdle of chastitie

His rich placarde, should be good husines
Brodered with almes, so full of larges
The helmet mekenes, and the shelde good fayeth,
His swerde Gods worde, as S. Paule sayeth."

Fortitude, Consuetude, Justice, Misericorde, Sapience, Curtesye, Concord and dame Minerva see him on his road, and bid him farewell. His first adventure is with a Kentish man, Godfrey Gobilion, who gives an account of his parentage in these lines:

"I cham a gentilman, of much noble kynne
Though Iche be cladde, in a knaues skynne

For there was one, called Peter Pratefast
That in all his life, spake no worde in waste
He weddid a wife, that was called Maude
I trow quod I, she was a gorgious boude
Thou liest, quod he, she was gentle and good
She gaue her husbande, many a furde hode

And at his meales, without any misse
She would him serue, in clenly wise iwys
God loue her soule, as she loued clenlines
And kept her dishes, from all foulenes
When she lacked clowtes, without any fayle
She wyped her dishes, with her dogges tayle."

The conversation that ensues between these worthies, on the misfortunes of lovers, exceeds for gross indelicacy the tales of Chaucer. Grand Amour continues his journey, and becomes a regular Jack the Giant-killer. His first adventure was with a monster twelve feet high, with three heads. These he decapitated; and is then attacked by a second and more formidable giant, fifteen feet long, with seven heads, named, Dissimulation, Delay, Discomfort, Variaunce, Envy, Detraction, and Doubleness; all these he cuts off, and is then received and entertained by seven fine ladies. His next fierce encounter is with demons. Pallas instructs him how to fight with them. He attacks and slays the great dragon—wins La Bell Pucell, and is married to her, and enjoys great happiness, until he is quietly removed by death to purgatory; where, having been purified, he goes to heaven.

In vain have I endeavoured to discover the intention of the author in this allegory. His editor says, that it was to stimulate young men to study the seven liberal sciences! Its natural effect would be to stimulate them to licentiousness. These were the class of books given to the people by the church, in preference to the Bible.

We now come to a very rare pilgrimage, written in Italian, and entitled *Libro del Peregrino*, by J. Cauice, dedicated to Lucresse Borgie.

The edition in my library is "El nouamente stampato et hystoriato, small 8vo, with woodcuts, Venice, 1524." I have

also a translation into French, by T. Dassy, Secretary of State to the King of Navarre; it is called "Le Peregrin: traictant de L'honneste et pudique amour, par pure et sincere Vertu." It is elegantly printed in black letter, with woodcuts, small 4to, Lyons, 1528, and from it the following analysis was made:

The pilgrim, a native of Ferrara, at the age of twenty-two years on May-day, attended to hear a Dominican Friar preach. Divine love lay in ambush, and the eloquence of the preacher pierced his heart. He passed a restless night—*speaks in silence*, and at length cries out, O life more miserable than death; his thoughts wound him and he is wretched. Under the character of a lady named Geneure, the daughter of Angiolo (the Virgin Mary, queen of angels), to that time unknown to him, is personated, that which alone can cure his wounded spirit. This lady is very wise and modest, young, but ancient in prudence, and very difficult to obtain. He becomes very desirous of obtaining her, and his pilgrimage is made with this object. Through the aid of Geneure's nurse Violante, he corresponded with her, and sought an interview. He is directed to a subterraneous passage, by which he hopes secretly to reach her house in the night; but mistakes the chamber, and enters that of another young lady, named Lyonore, (the lioness) the daughter of Petruccio, (the flurty), and mistook her for Geneure. This sad adventure with Lyonore involves him in great trouble. It came to the knowledge of Geneure, and she weeps for her pilgrim's treason; but is comforted by her mother, (the blessed Virgin,) who tells her that it is natural to man to go astray. Geneure threatens to enter a nunnery, and submits to her mother that the vows of obedience and poverty are of sovereign virtue. The pilgrim, before Geneure entered upon her noviciate, met her accidentally at church, and proposes marriage, his faults are forgiven, they become united, and pass their time in great happiness, until death again separated them.

If Bunyan had been able to have read this quaint old Italian or French story, he would never have devoted his valuable time to such a mass of rubbish; and if he had, not the slightest idea could have suggested itself to have assisted him in composing the adventures of his Pilgrim. In fact he dared not have spent an hour over a book, which, under the title of "The Pilgrim," contains all the looseness of an Italian love story.

It is a matter of great regret that those who write and publish for the millions, too frequently circulate opinions and supposed facts without personal investigation. Mr. Chambers, the popular publisher at Edinburgh, whose works find readers as far as the English language is known, has joined those who detract from Bunyan, by charging him with plagiarism.

In his Encyclopædia of Literature,[1] speaking of Gawin Douglas, the Bishop of Dunkeld, a celebrated Scottish poet, he observes: "The principal original composition of Douglas is a long poem, entitled 'The *Palace of Honour*.'

[1] Vol. i p. 44.

It was designed as an epilogue for the conduct of a king, and therefore addressed to James IV. The poet represents himself as seeing, in a vision, a large company travelling towards the Palace of Honour. He joins them, and narrates the particulars of the pilgrimage. The well-known *Pilgrim's Progress* bears so strong a resemblance to this poem, that Bunyan could scarcely have been ignorant of it." With some trouble, I found a copy of this very rare tract by Douglas. It is a *short poem*, but being in the ancient Scottish dialect, it is quite long enough to weary an Englishman's patience. Had it been Douglas's long poem, a translation of Virgil, it would have defied any attempt of mine to read it; but by the aid of a good modern glossary, I read it through, and to my extreme surprize, found that it has not, either in the plot or detail, the slightest similarity whatever to the Pilgrim's Progress, and that it is written in terms that a poor unlettered minister could not have understood.[1] Had Bunyan seen and read the following stanza, *and understood it*, how indignant would he have felt at the author's notion of baptismal regeneration.

"Ze bene all borne the sonnis of Ire I ges
Sine throw Baptisme gettis grace and faithfulnes.
Than in zone Carwell surelie ze remane,
Oft stormested with this warldis hrukilnes
Quhill that ze fall in sin and wretchitnes
Than schip brokin sall ze drown in endles pane
Except be faith ze find the plank agane
Be Christ, wirking gude warkis I vnderstund
Remane thairwith, thir sall zow bring to land.[2]"

Surely Mr. Chambers could not have imagined that the representation of a large party going *up a hill* of polished marble, and on *the summit* seeing the infernal regions as narrated in the following verses, could have aided Bunyan in his solemn account of the Christian's feeling in the *Valley* of the Shadow of Death.

"As we approchit neir the hilles heid
Ane terribill sewch birnand in flammis reid
Abhominabill, and how as hell to se
All full of brintstane, Pick and bulling Leid,
Quhair mony wretchit creature lay deid.
And miserabill catiues zelland loude on hie
I saw, quhilk den micht weill compairit be
Till Xanthus the flude of Troy sa schill
Birnand at Venus hest contrair Achill.
Amid our passage lay this vglie sicht
Nocht braid bot sa horribill to euerie wicht
That all the warld to pas it suld haue dreid.
Weill I considderit na vppermair I micht,
And to discend sa hiddeous was the hicht
I durst not auenture for this eird on dreid

[1] The principal character in the story is represented as being in a desert, when, hearing the noise of an approaching cavalcade, he gets into a stock [a hollow tree], and sees them pass. He then follows them to the palace of honour, and gives a description of what took place.

[2] Page 44.

Trimbland I stude wt teith chatterand gude speid
My Nymphe beheld my cheir and said let be
Thow sall nocht aill, and lo the caus (quod sche)
To me thou art commit, &c.[9]

There may be as much poetic beauty in these lines as there is melody in the drone of the bagpipe, but there is not the slightest similarity, nor even any idea in the whole poem, that could by possibility have aided the author of the Pilgrim's Progress.

The Pryke of Conscience.[1]

A very curious old English poem; it is theological and descriptive, but not allegorical.

The Myrrour of Lyfe, by William of Nassyngton, 1418.[2]

An ancient English poetical treatise on religion; excepting the title, it has no pretence to allegory.

Castellum Amoris. Le Chateau D'Amour, by Robert Grosteste.

A fine copy of this curious poem in Norman French, is in the British Museum.[3] It narrates the creation and fall of man; the four daughters of God, Mercy, Truth, Patience, and Peace, unite to devise the means of man's restoration. The prophets predict; the Saviour is born in the great palace of Love; the palace is described with its keepers; Satan attempts to overcome the keepers.—It is a very curious poem, and is called at the end, *Scala Cœli.*

"O baptize treslour fussent	"They were then baptized
Et nomi Deu pater et Det fiz.	In the names of God the Father and of the Son
Et du saynt espiritz	And of the Holy Ghost
Kar qi baptize ne serra	For whoever is not baptized
Ca en cel ne entera	He in heaven shall not enter
Mes ci creaut cy baptize	But those created in this baptism
Serront mys a sauuete."	Shall be put into salvation."

Scala Perfeccionis Englyshed. The Ladder of Perfeccion, written by Walter Hilton, about 1380.

This was one of the most popular of the monkish writings, and so much esteemed in the reign of James the Second, as to have been published by the court to promote the influence of popery in these realms; this is very much altered, and *not* improved. The only allegory in it is the ladder placed upon the earth to ascend by steps to heaven. It was intended for monks and nuns to guide them in devotional exercises, so that their affections might be gradually raised from earthly things. It is the most scriptural of all the monkish manuscripts, but the evangelical truths are omitted in the more modern printed editions. Thus he says, if we were only

[9] Page 42.
[1] Bib. Egert. 846. B.
[2] Brit, Mus. Eg. 657.
[3] Roy. Lib. 17, c. viii.

infected by original sin, and had escaped the pollution of actual transgression, we must have perished but for the sufferings of Christ.[2] To speak for thy profit and my own, "say I thus that thou neuer so moche a wreche, hadest thou done neuer so moche syn, for sake thi self and al thi werkes gode and bad, cry mercy and aske oneli saluacion be vertu of the precious passion mekeli and trusteli and with outyen doute thou schalt haue it, and fro this original syn and al other that thou have done thou sal be saf."[3] Dr. Dibdin considers this a wild and dangerous exposition of the consoling doctrines of the Christian religion made by an enthusiastic writer![4] Hilton gives a faithful warning against placing dependence upon happy feelings, unless they arise from a living faith.[5] "I had rather feel and have a stedfast desire and a pure spiritual union with my Lord Jesus, though I cannot see him with my ghostly eye, than to have without this desire the fruit of all the bodily penance of all living men, or all the visions and revelations of angels' songs and sounds." "Jesus leadeth the soul into itself. The secret voice of Jesus is fully true: 'My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they know me.' There is no feigning in it, nor fantasy, nor pride, nor hypocrisy; but softness, meekness, peace, love, and charity. And it is full of life, love, and grace; and, therefore, when it soundeth in the soul, it is sometime of so great might, that the soul suddenly layeth of hand all that there is, praying, speaking, reading, or thinking, and all manner of bodily work, and listeneth thereto, fully hearing and perceiving, in rest and in love, the sweet steuen[6] of this spiritual voice, as it were ravished from the mind of all earthly things. Sometimes Jesus showeth himself as a master, sometimes as a father, and sometimes as a lovely spouse; and it keepeth the soul in a wonderful reverence, and a lovely beholding of him, that the soul liketh never so well as then."[7] It is delightful to meet with such beams of the Sun of righteousness in a dark age, like the day-spring on high, breaking through a dismal night with its cheering rays.[8]

The Pilgrimage of Perfection; supposed to be written by William Bond. 4to, printed by Pynson, 1526.

A fine copy of this rare book is in the extensive and valuable library of my kind friend, the Rev. J. H. M. Luxmoore, rector of Marcweil, near Wrexham, by whose permission the following analysis was made.

This work is more particularly intended for the monastic orders, to promote what, in those days, was called pious feelings, which was to treat the gifts of providence, the comforts, and even necessaries of life, with contempt; to abstain from reasonable enjoyments; to retire into solitudes where no relative duties could be performed; lacerating the body; submitting the soul with blind obedience to the will of men; a looking forward with dread to the future; contemplating the God of love, not as the forgiver, but as the avenger of sin; and to which may be added,

[2] Chap. xliv.

[3] Copied from a fine and perfect MS. in the editor's library, ch. xliv.

[4] Typographical Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 37.

[6] Spelling modernized.

[5] Sound, from "streuen," or strain.

[7] Cap. xliv. part 2.

[8] It is very surprising that so little appears to be known of this good man; he was a Carthusian monk of Sion, or Shene, and author of about twelve different works.

that climax of pride, fanaticism, and folly, in which Jews, Mohammedans, and all antichrist glory, that there is no salvation out of the pale of their own sect.

The volume commences with the tree of grace and the tree of vice; under the branch of avarice a nun is told to **Note yt a pin or a nedell kept contrary to ye commaundement of their soueraine it is dampnable.**

It is divided into two parts: first, "sheweth howe the lyfe of euery cristian is as a pilgremage: second, the iourney of religion—man is never contented in the cage of this world; wherfore it appereth that ther is an hyer cage and another place for his full contentation."—"As the iewes spoyled Egipt of their richesse, so the christians have spoyled both iewes and philosophers of the noble veritees of philosophy;"

"In heuen euery man and woman shalbe as an emperour and empresse."

The journey begins with the sacrament of baptism, professing by it to be pilgrims; openly forsaking the devil, pomps, mortal sins, honours, riches, and pleasures; for daily sustenance, is given the blessed body of our Lord in the sacrament, by which these pilgrims are raised above nature to immortal glory. John vi. 53, is thus translated: "Except ye eat the flesh of the son of the virgin, and drink his blood, ye cannot have life in you;" but it is silent as to the cup being denied to the laity. 1 Peter ii. 2, 3, are thus translated, "as infants and young children: whom our mother, holy church, hath brought forth, by the regeneration of baptism in the faith of Christ Jesus."

Then follow very extensive instructions to the pilgrims, without any attempt at allegory. Many portions of scripture are given, but they are strangely translated. The Lord's prayer: "O father in heuen delyuer vs frō all euyll of peyne and synne. Suffre vs nat to be ouerthrowen in temptacion. Forgyue vs our offences as we forgyue them that hath offended vs. Gyue vs our dayly sustenaunce and necessaryes. Thy wyll be fulfylled in erthe, as it is in heuen. Thy kyngdome come to vs. Thy holy name be santifyed."—1 Cor. iii. 13; "but yet (as saynt Poule sayth) the fyer of purgatory must proue his workes." When suffering pain from fasting, he adviseth that such pain be allayed by using these words: "Ah, caryon carion and wormes meate: what vauntage shalte thou haue, ever to stuffe and fyll the greedy gutte of thy bely with delicate meetes and drinkes which damn the soule." Praying to our blessed Lady and to the saints is ordered because Job was commanded to "call to some of the sayntes of heuen, and they wil answere," Job v. 1. In the ten commandments the second is omitted, and the tenth is divided into two to make up the number. The Virgin Mary can obtain blessings for us, because "The mother of God, sheweth to her son her pappes and brestes, with the which she gaue hym sucke!! therefore make supplication to her, to have mercy on this present churche militant, releue, socoure, and helpe it." The heavenly anthem is translated; "Glory be to god in heuyn, and peace in erthe to man or woman, that hathe a good wyll," Luke ii. 11. The pilgrimage is divided into seven days, and on the seventh the soul approaches to perfection; and here the feelings or experience of the pilgrims strongly remind us of some modern sects, such as, the Irvingites—"Some in this vnwont ioye haue been compelled to syng, some to wepe, some coude nothinge speke; but Jesu, Jesu, Jesu. Some coude nat saye so moche, *but onely expresse suche voyces, that be nat in use to signifye any thyng:* one Masseus in such ioye coude speke nothing but v v v." With the Quakers, "Some other in such jubile, trymbled or quaked in all the ioyntes

of their bodyes." Like the Ranters, "Some were constrayned to leape and daunce for ioye, and some to clappe their handes." Some have arrived at so high a state of mortification, that if asked "whether they coude be contented, for the love and pleasure of god, and to fulfyll his wyll, to lye for euermore in the paynes of hell, without remedy, they wolde answere: ye with all their hertes." In such a state was St. Bernard who was ravished before the cross when the body "losed itselfe from the crosse, and halsed[2] and kyssed hym most swetely;" the holy Brigit was lifted up in the aire, and her face was made to shyne brighter than the sonne!!! The reader need not be told that Bunyan could have had no help from this impure source.

The Pype, or Tonne of the lyfe of perfection. 4to, 1532.

This is an allegorical work for the instruction of nuns, written by the old wretch of Sion;[3] and, although it is not a pilgrimage or a dream, it is a guide to female pilgrims. Under the idea of wine being kept in a pipe or tun, is represented. 1. The life of perfection, as *the wine;* 2. Religion, *the pipe;* 3. Essential vows, obedience, wilful poverty, and chastity, *the staves;* 4. Holy rules, *the hoops;* 5. Ceremonies, *the wickers*, by which the hoops are made fast. If these wickers fail, the hoops open, the cask falls to pieces, and the wine is lost; *all depends upon the ceremonies.* This curious book was published to prevent the spread of heresy "by newe fangle persones," aided by the New Testament, which had then been about six years in circulation in England; for "Luther, with all his discyples, depraue all maner of religyons, except onely (as they call hit) the religyon of Christe. Wherefore I thought it necessary to answer the perilous poison of such blaterers." The work is divided into three parts: "Of Obedience," "Wylfull Pouertie," and "Chastite;" being the three great vows made by the nuns, to whom it is addressed. 1. Of Obedience. Without implicit obedience, there is not the slightest hope of salvation. This related, not only to the obedience due by nuns to the pope, the priest, and the abbess, but also to the obedience due by a wife to her husband. If married ladies acted in the same spirit then as they do now, might not the sorrowful inquiry have been made, "Lord, are there [even a] few that be saved?" "Kynges as sone as they were conuerted and baptized, left their dyademes and were subiects unto the clergie, and under theyr obedience;" a peculiar kind of anti-nomianism reigned in the church; "I say, that no temporall lawe maye bynde any spirituall persone. This have we said vnto Tyndale that arche heretike." Some of the rules and examples show that nuns were true women, who could braule and chide; eat and drynke to excess—"they be in right great jeoperty of[4] nawfrage and wracke of chastite." Obedience in ecclesiastical payments is enforced by a very odd translation of Numb. xviii. 22: "Those persones that wolde nat be obedient duely to pay theyr tythes, were judged by our Lord vnto deth;" and whether God, or the vicar of God, give any manner of commandment, it is all one, and by like reverence to be performed; "our lorde god, in maner makyng the prelates and souereynes equall with hymselfe." The extent of obedience is thus illustrated: "that man that in obedience to his souereyne dyd caste his owne chylde quicke into a hole flamynge ouen has now laude, prayse,

[2] Halsed, bowed the head.

[3] A monk in the monastery of Syon, near Richmond, on the banks of the Thames.

[4] Naufrage, 'shipwreck.'

thanke, and grace, because he was obedient as he would have had indignation of god and vengeaunce if he had not obeyed." 2. Of Wylfull Pouertie. This vow was so strict that no monk or nun was to consider their clothes their own, but the property of the establishment; and, to terrify the poor votaries, a story is told, fol. cc., of a monk that did appear after his death to one of his companions, showing that he was in marvellous great pains, "for bycause he gaue a payre of olde showes vnto a pore body without leaue;" All the efforts and threats to prevent getting money was in vain, and our unhappy author laments that there are few monasteries in England but where the monks lend and borrow; play for money at all manner of games; dice, cards, bowls, and sometimes at worse or more inconvenient things; while the nuns enjoy their gains; make good cheer; sing and laugh, play and sport, and be as merry as lay people. We close our account of this singular volume by extracting a curious version of Ps. cxxxvii. 9: "Blessed be that person that doth hold and restrain his children, and that doth thrust and crush their head unto the stone, that is unto Christ and his passion and death." No one can for a moment suppose that Bunyan could have gained a hint from this volume.

Viaggio Spirituale, nel quale, facendosi passaggio da questa vita mortale, si ascende alla celeste. Del R. P. Cornelio Bellanda, di Verona, 4to. with the Aldine mark. Venetia, 1578.

This spiritual pilgrimage, from mortal life to the celestial, has nothing in it allegorical, but in ten chapters treats of penance, confession, the judgment, heavenly blessedness, &c. It is a very rare volume, elegantly printed by Aldus, jun.[1]

The Vision of Pierce Plowman.

This is a very curious poem, composed about the time of Wiclif, by one of the Lollards, said to be by Robert Langland. It is a poetical vision or dream, in which he exposes and reproves vice, and extols Christian virtue. The printer [R. Crowley, 1550] states, that it was written in the time of Edward the Third, when it pleased God to open the eyes of many to see his truth, giving them boldness of heart to open their mouths and cry out against the works of darkness. This writer feigneth himself in dreams most Christianly to instruct the weak, and sharply rebuke the obstinate blind. He godlily, learnedly, and wittily rebuked vice in all classes. There is nothing in this very interesting book that could have aided Bunyan, but it presents a melancholy picture of the state of the clergy, and of society generally, at that time; according to his account, pilgrims were very sad story-tellers.

> "Pilgrames and Palmers plyght hem togyther
> For to seke S. James and sayntes at Rome
> They went forth theyr way, wyth many wyse tales,
> And had leaue to lye all hyr lyfe after."

[1] In the library at Grove Street, Hackney. See Renonard Annales, de l' Imprimarie des Alde, vol. i. p. 397.

The hermits appear to have had a still worse propensity:

"Hermets on a heape wyth hoked staues
Wenten to Walsingham, and her wenches after."

Chaucer's Canterbury Tales

Were told on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Thomas à Becket; and it is evident that these pretended holy journeys were full of vice and profligacy.

Erasmus on the Religious Pilgrimages.

In the same order is the very droll coloquy of Erasmus, called the *Religious Pilgrimage*: this is preceded by an account of a shipwreck, when all the passengers and crew are calling each on his patron saint, promising pilgrimages and offerings. Among them; "one vowed to *St. Christopher*, in the great church at *Paris*, 'as loud as he could bawl,' that he might be sure to be heard, a *wax candle*, as big as himself, and he was rather a mountain than a statue: a friend gave him a touch. *Have a care what you promise*, says he, *for if you should sell yourself to your shirt, you are not able to purchase such a candle.* Hold your tongue, you fool, says t'other, softly, for fear the saint should hear him; *let me set foot* a land once, and he has good luck if he get so much as a tallow candle of me!!" This pilgrimage has a long letter from the Virgin Mary written by one of her secretaries, in droll terms, complaining that it is of no use that hundreds should pray to her at once, for she could only hear one at a time, and had no power to assist her worshippers. No one can suppose that Bunyan gained any hint from such satirical works as these.

Spencer's Fairy Queen.

To this work Dr. Adam Clarke considered Bunyan to have been indebted for some ideas in his Pilgrim, or Holy War. It must require no ordinary degree of penetration to discover that which is, to many, perfectly concealed.

This is a very long but elegant allegorical poem, composed of seven legends: 1. The Knight of the Red Cross, or Holiness. This gallant knight, properly caparisoned and accoutred, rides forth with Truth represented as a fair lady; his first adventure is with a monstrous dragon called Error, who is slain. They take refuge in the cell of an aged sire who acted the part of a holy hermit, but proved to be a most unholy enchanter; he calls spirits from the vasty deep, and transforms them into a gallant knight and a beautiful woman. He kindles a flame of jealousy in the breast of the red cross knight, so that he abruptly quits his fair companion, and in his journey meets with a knight called "Sans Foy;" they fight, and Sans Foy is killed, and a lovely lady, his companion, is taken captive; she proves to be "Falsehood." He is taken prisoner by the contrivance of Falsehood, and is thrown into a dungeon in the castle of giant Orgoglio, where he lies in despair for three months. Truth induces prince Arthur to attack the giant, whose body disappears when he is slain after a fearful combat; he relieves the red cross knight from a cell—

"Where entred in, his feet could find no floor,
But all a deep descent, as dark as Hell,
That breathed ever forth a filthy banefull smell."

He is then led to a house of holiness, and is taught repentance. Our knight then seeks and fights the old dragon fiend for three successive days and kills him. He visits the infernal realms; sees what the classic poets have described; meets again with his lady Truth, and his adventures close with their marriage. The next legend is that of Temperance narrating the exploits of Sir Guyon. He attacks and overcomes Furor, Incontinence, and Mammon. He recounts from a friar's book "a chronicle of Briton's Kings." His startling description of our forefathers is a good specimen of his versification and stanzas :

"But far in land a salvage nation dwelt
Of hideous giaunts, and halfe-beastly men,
That never tasted grace, nor goodness felt;
But wild like beastes lurking in loathsome den,
And flying fast as roebucke through the fen;
All naked without shame or care of cold,
By hunting and by spoiling liveden;
Of stature huge, and eke of corage bold,
That sonnes of men amazed their sternesse to behold."

Temperance is besieged, but relieved by Prince Arthur. Then follows the legends of Britomartis, or Chastity : all the chapters are headed with poetical contents; as,

"The witches sonne loves Florimell,
She flyes; he faines to dy.
Satyrene saves the squyre of Dames
From Gyauntes tyranny."

The other legends are of friendship, justice, courtesy, constancy, and mutability. The first legend of Holiness is the only one that bears the slightest resemblance to any part of the Pilgrim or Holy War. In this we have a battle with the old dragon fiend, a descent into hell, and being a prisoner in a giant's castle. It is not at all likely that Bunyan could have found time, even had he the inclination, to have read the Fairy Queen. His poetry is from the school of Francis Quarles, and not of Spencer. The knightly hero *seeks* the old dragon fiend; the pilgrim is sought by Apollyon. Apostolic injunctions would naturally lead our allegorist Bunyan to portray the dreadful combat. "The devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour," WHOM RESIST. Clothed in the armour described in the Epistle to the Ephesians, and wielding the sword of the Spirit, his final success was certain— "resist the devil and he will flee from you." Such texts, with his own experience of the saint's conflict with the powers of darkness, naturally suggested the fight with Apollyon, without the aid of any uninspired author.

All Spencer's imagery of the Infernal Regions is taken from Ovid, Virgil, and Dante. But the pilgrims' fears while passing through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, depict the author's personal feelings, and the experience of David. "The sorrows of death compassed me, and the pains of hell gat hold upon me : I found trouble and sorrow."[1] The strong language of Job,[2] "A dreadful sound is in his ears; he believeth not that he shall return out of darkness;" and the emotions of the psalmist, "an horrible pit and the miry clay," led to an intensity of *feeling*,

[1] Ps. cxvi. 3. [2] Job xv.

under doubts and fears, which knightly poetry, however elegant, could never have engendered. Spencer was a philosopher well acquainted with heathen literature, from which his images are drawn. While Bunyan, shut out of the enticing treasures of human learning, possessed in that inspired volume, which was his daily solace under severe privations, the most noble model for his allegorical imagery, he neither wanted, nor could he have gained, the slightest hint from Spencer.

Le Voyage du Chevalier Errant. Par F. J. de Cartheny. Written about the year 1311. 8vo, Anvers, 1557. Published in English under the title of The Voyage of the Wandering Knight. Showing the whole course of Man's Life; how apt he is to follow Vanity, and how hard it is for him to attain to Virtue. Devised by John Cartheny, a Frenchman; and Translated out of French into English by W.(illiam) G.(oodyeare), of Southampton, Merchant: a work worthy the reading, and dedicated to Sir. F. Drake, Knt. London, Printed by Thos. Snodham, 4to. No date, but about 1611. (See Herbert, p. 1022.)

The knight determines to seek the palace of true felicity, and first tries riches, pleasure, and honours; but he adds, "I was as very a fool in this as he who hoped to catch fish by angling in the air, or hunt the hare with hounds in the open sea." Under the guidance of Folly, he obtained from an armorer named Evil-will, a shirt of lasciviousness, a doublet of lewd desires, [1]hosen of vain pleasures, armour of ignorance, a corslet of inconstancy, [2]vambraces of arrogancy, gauntlets of idleness, a gorget of licentiousness, a helmet of lightness, a buckler of shamelessness, a gilt-cap of vain-glory, a girdle of intemperance, a sword of rebellion, and a lance named Hope of Long-life. "Then Pride prepared me a galloping horse called Temerity. At last Folly apparelled herself lightly with a cloak of feathers, and mounted upon a jenet; and opening her feathers and wings with the wind, away she flew; and I also, at a wild adventure, set spurs to my horse, and away we went both."

During their ride, Folly tells him her triumphs in such gross terms, that the knight found fault with this insatiable empress, and calls her some very unpolite names; but not having received God's grace, he was unable to forsake her. They come to two paths, one a goodly green meadow,—the other rocky, narrow, and full of mountains; and here met with two elegant ladies, on chargers richly caparisoned. Lady Voluptuousness pictures to him the pleasures of idleness, with all worldly delights; and Lady Felicity, the advantages of industry and virtue. As the husbandman could expect no corn unless he prepared the ground and sowed the seed; so that man is marvellously misinformed who thinketh to achieve true blessedness unless he prepares his way by virtue and good deeds. But while Reason preferred the good advice of Felicity, Folly prevailed, and led him to the palace of voluptuousness. The palace is minutely described, with all its wanton and luxurious enjoyments. After leading, *a beastly life*, eleven days, he goes out hunting, accompanied

[1] Stockings. [2] Armour for the arms.

by his gay ladies ; when suddenly the palace sinks into the earth, yielding such an air of brimstone, that the like hath not been felt. The knight 'sunk into a beastly bog up to his saddle,' and his companions changed into serpents, snakes, toads, and venomous worms. He fell into despair, howled, and scratched his face ; he tried in vain to get out, and found " that after a man be once sunk in sin, he will not be able to recover himself unless he have the help of God's grace." After bitter repentance, he prays ; and a splendid lady, called God's-Grace, relieved him, and he left Temerity his horse, and Folly his governess, in the bog to fish for frogs. " Thus you see that God's grace draweth us from sins without any merit of ours ; howbeit not without an inward heart-grief and sorrow for sin, which is a special gift of God's grace." His new guide showed him the ruins of the palace of worldly felicity converted into a great bed of iron, red hot, upon which his late companions were tormented. He is then led to the school of repentance, which is surrounded with a moat, called Humility. Here all his follies are brought to his remembrance ; he sees what torments he had deserved for them, and was half in despair. Portions of Scripture are exhibited, which comfort and convert him. Understanding, now preaches him a sermon on the history of Mary Magdalen. The knight then receives the communion, and is carried to the palace of Virtue. The third part of the voyage describes the happiness which is felt in company with Lady Virtue. At length Faith, from the top of a tower, shows him the city of heaven. It concludes with a prayer, the creed and ten commandments, and an exhortation to perseverance until the knight shall attain the glorious city of Paradise. Although this work was doubtless intended for good, yet such is the indelicacy of many of its scenes, that it was more calculated to excite evil passions than to lead an inquirer to happiness. The way of salvation is confined to moral observances, without that spring of virtue which flows from faith in Jesus Christ, and its consequent evangelical obedience. There is no similarity between this Voyage and the Pilgrim's Progress, except it be the foresight of the heavenly paradise, which has been, and is, one of the enjoyments of the real Christian from the Revelations of John to the present time.[3] There is no ground for supposing that the persecuted Bunyan ever saw this " Chevalier Errant."

Whitney's Emblems. 4to. Leyden, 1586, p. 179. The cut over which represents a man swimming, with a pack upon his back.

" Desire to haue, dothe make vs muche indure,
In trauayle, toile, and labour voide of reste :
The marchant-man is caried with this lure,
Throughe scorching heate, to regions of the Easte :
Oh thirste of goulde, what not? but thou canst do :
And make mens hartes for to consent thereto.

The trauailer poore, when shippe doth suffer wracke,
Who hopes to swimme vnto the wished lande,
Dothe venture life, with fardle on his backe,
That if he scape, the same in steede maye stande.

[3] Mr. Lowndes, in his Bibliographical Manual, says that Bunyan, in his Pilgrim's Progress, was much indebted to this Wandering Knight.

Thus, hope of life, and loue vnto his goods,
Houldes vp his chinne, with burthen in the floods."

Another emblem has a cut, representing a Pilgrim with his staff leaving a globe [the world] behind him, p. 225. Peregrinus Christianus loquitur.

Adve deceiptfull worlde, thy pleasures I detest:
Nowe, others with thy showes delude; my hope in heauen doth rest.

Inlarged as followeth:

Even as a flower, or like vnto the grasse,
Which now dothe stande, and straight with sithe dothe fall;
So is our state: now here, now hence wee passe:
For, time attendes with shredding sithe for all.
And deathe at lengthe, both oulde, and yonge, doth strike:
And into dust dothe turne vs all alike.

Yet, if we marke how swifte our race dothe ronne,
And waighe the cause, why wee created bee:
Then shall wee know, when that this life is donne,
Wee shall bee sure our countrie right to see.
For, here wee are but straungers, that must flitte:
The nearer home, the nearer to the pitte.

O happie they, that pondering this arighte,
Before that here their pilgrimage bee past,
Resigne this worlde: and marche with all their mighte
Within that pathe, that leades where ioyes shall last.
And whilst they maye, there, treasure vp their store,
Where, without rust, it lastes for euermore.

This worlde must chaunge: That worlde, shall still indure.
Here, pleasures fade: There, shall they endlesse bee.
Here, man doth sinne: And there, hee shalbee pure,
Here, deathe hee tastes: And there, shall neuer die.
Here, hathe hee griefe: And there shall ioyes possesse,
As none hath seene, nor anie harte can gesse."

These are the poems from which Mr. Montgomery conceives Bunyan might perhaps have inspired his first idea.

The other of Whitney's Emblems upon pilgrimage is under a cut, representing Mercury and two men travelling upon a road.

"The trauaylinge man, vncertaine where to goe,
When diuers wayes before his face did lie,
Mercurius then, the perfect pathe did showe,
Which when he tooke, he neuer went awrie,
But to his wishes, his iorneys ende did gaine
In happie howre, by his direction plaine.

This trauailinge man: doth tell our wandringe state,
Before whose face, and eeke on euerye side,
Bypathes, and wayes, appeare amidd our gate,
That if the Lorde bee not our onlie guide:
We stumble, fall, and dailie goe astraye,
Then happie those, whome God doth shew the waye."

The Pilgrimage to Paradise. Compiled for the Direction, Comfort, and Resolution of God's poore distressed Children in passing through this irksome Wildernesse of Temptation and Tryall. By Leonard Wright. 4to, London, 1591. Full of sound instruction, but not allegorical.

Benoist (Father-Confessor to Mary Queen of Scots), *le Chevalier Chrestien.*

This is a dialogue between a Christian knight and an infidel, whom he attempts to instruct in the knowledge of God and the Romish faith. It has cuts representing the knight's horse and the various parts of his armour and habiliments, which are spiritualized. Some of these instructions to an infidel are curious: "Comme l'Eglise, second Paradis, à esté plantée et est contenue en la Vierge, monde mystique."[4] "De la descente de Jesus Christ en enfer, ou il a remporté encore une autre victoire sur Satan, brisant ses prisons, et deliverant les Peres qu'il y tenoit captif."[5] This is the true meaning of the descent into hell in what is called the Apostles' Creed. Among other curious discoveries which the author makes, is that if Adam had not been persuaded to sin by his wife, his posterity would not have been corrupt.[6]

The Pilgrimage of Princes. By L. Lloid, one of Queen Elizabeth's Sergeants-at-Arms.

There is nothing allegorical in this entertaining volume. It is a pilgrimage to the characters and works of princes, which are curiously exhibited. A few are in poetry, such as that of King Herod:

"When *Herod* reigned in Juda king
His life so loathsome led,
On sucking babes and infants blood,
This cruel tyrant fed.
To seek our Saviour Christ, he kill'd
The Babes of Juda land;
And thought our God could not escape
His fomie bloody hand.
Of worms this Herod was devoured,
Of vermin loe, and mice:
His bones, his flesh, was all consumed
And eaten up of Lice."

[4] Edit. Rouen, 1609, 8vo, p. 97. [5] Page 160. [6] Page 48.

The Pilgrim's Journey towards Heaven. By William Webster. 8vo, London, 1613. This is not allegorical.

The Pilgrim.

This old comedy by Beaumont and Fletcher, could afford no hint to Bunyan, and it is very probable that he never wasted one of his precious minutes over a play.

In the darker ages, and even to the present day, in Roman Catholic countries the word pilgrim is only understood as relating to a meritorious pilgrimage to the shrine of some saint. The principal places were Rome, Loretto, Jerusalem, Compostella, and the local shrines with which every country in Europe abounded. It was a duty inculcated upon all; and two visits to a neighbouring shrine were considered equivalent to one at double the distance. Such as were unable to go in person, gave money to have the duty performed by proxy. Frequently two hundred thousand pilgrims were at Loretto at one time. They formed processions round the palace of our Lady, on their bare knees, five, seven, nine, or twelve times. We can scarcely credit the accounts of the number of devotees who practised all sorts of vices, going and returning, to secure the pardon of sin, by visiting the shrine, and invoking the aid of the saint – so besotted and intoxicated were mankind made by the Church. In six months, from January to June, 1435, the King of England granted licences to two thousand eight hundred and fifty pilgrims, to Compostella alone; and it is impossible to give any idea of the myriads of Europeans who perished on pilgrimages, especially to the Holy Land. The church constantly prayed for these votaries, as the Church of England now prays for those who travel by land or by water, &c.

The Rev. W. Acworth, at a meeting of the Bible Society, related an anecdote, which may be useful to travellers in popish countries:[4] "A gentleman who had travelled before me from Rome, had with him some Bibles, Testaments and tracts, on the top of them he had placed good old John Bunyan's

[4] Report, May, 1836, p. 392.

Pilgrim's Progress ; when the package was opened, the Douanniers examined this book, and not being very good English scholars, they knew not what to make of the title, Bun—Bun—Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress! 'What is that?' said one, 'Oh,' replied the other, ''tis some work on the advantage of pilgrimages;' and consequently the whole were immediately allowed. Now, I had my regular passport; but I venture to say, that good John Bunyan's Pilgrim was a better passport for the Bible, than any other which could have been found on that occasion."

The most curious of these painful pilgrimages is

The Pilgrim of Loretto performing his Vow made to the Glorious Virgin Mary, Mother of God. By L. Richeome, 4to, Paris, 1630. Dedicated to Mary, Queen of Charles I.

This work is intended to show the merits and advantages of pilgrimages to holy places ; because the Jews were pilgrims to Jerusalem three times a year. The kings, or sages, made their pilgrimage, guided by the star of the world. Our Lord was a pilgrim in Egypt, and he has left many places to which Christians should undertake holy pilgrimages, and obtain the fruits of his graces ; among these, Loretto is the most famous. This chapel is forty feet long, twenty wide, and twenty-five high, built of ordinary small stones, hard and squared long, of the colour of brick ; the walls adorned with paintings of sacred stories—a stone altar, "breathing as it were something divine." The image of the Blessed Virgin, crowned with precious stones ; her gown of cloth of gold, with a sky-coloured mantle. On her left arm the little child Jesus, having a countenance full of grace and majesty. In the year 1291, the 9th of May, this house was at night carried by angels from Galilee into Sclavonia, and remained there four years. On the night of the 19th of November, 1294, it was removed, first into the Mark of Ancona, to a forest, the property of a lady named Loretto ; but the forest being infested with thieves, it was removed to a hill hard by. In less than a month, it was again removed to Reccanata, and there remains. Dr. Franklin says, that three removes are as bad as a fire ; but this house, with all its contents was bodily removed, without injury, four times ; and to prevent scepticism, the author recounts some wonders performed by angels : "we know by their naturall force, they roule about the huge frames of the celestiall Bodys, from East to West with an admirable swiftness and constancy now these six thousand yeares togeather, without any paine or difficulty : a work without comparison more difficult, than to carry a house once or twice, from one country to another, although it be miraculous, and admirable for the rarenes." He adds the testimony of Francis Prior, which, *if true,* decides the fact : "he had often heard of his grandfather, that he did see the house of the blessed Virgin, when being carried in the air it lighted in the forest ;" besides which, it was honoured with innumerable miracles. The result was, that emperors popes, and princes, presented gifts to the Virgin, until the massive gold and silver plate, diamonds, and baubles accumulated to an incredible value ; it has been

thought, that millions of pounds sterling, would not have paid for them, at a fair valuation.[1]

This pilgrimage is completed in forty days; thrice seven going, being the number of penance and purgation; nine to spend at Loretto, for the orders of angels, the intellectual light, and ten to return, it being the number of perfection. The pilgrim is to use his rosary of sixty-three beads, the age of the Virgin when she died; saying upon the small beads an Ave Maria, and upon the larger, every tenth, a Pater-noster. Having confessed and communicated, three pilgrims commence the pilgrimage; and the first day's meditation was on the condition of man, as a pilgrim and stranger upon earth. It closes with a canticle, of which this is the last stanza:

"Merrily then, let's march apace
Unto this blessed Virgin's Hall,
There shall we see the heavens grace
Inclosed in a Chappel small:
And learne to be of this mayde-wife
Perfect Pilgrimes all our life."

Similar instructions are given for each day's meditation. After the ten commandments follow the five, which were forgotten or omitted in the decalogue, and are called the Commandments of the Church. 1. To keep the feasts. 2. To hear mass. 3. To fast Lent, etc. 4. To confess. 5. To take the sacrament at Easter; to which are added, 6. Not to marry in times forbidden, and 7. To pay tithes.

When they had arrived at Loretto, themes were given for this nine days' meditation, during his sojourn there—as, a meditation upon the holy eucharist; on the conception of the blessed Virgin; on her ancestors; presentation; espousal of Joseph and Mary, both being virgins to the time of their death; the incarnation; nativity, &c. Before leaving Loretto, they pray to the Virgin; the close of this prayer is: "*to stirre us up to yield honour, prayse, and immortal thanks to the Sonne and the Mother, who with their honour have made thee so honourable.*"

On their return, these pilgrims were mistaken for thieves, and narrowly escaped death. Many miracles are talked over, and among them one narrated by Fisher, bishop of Rochester, in 1526, in his book against Œclampadius, of a priest who lived many months without food or hunger, and in the midst of snow, without feeling cold, BY LICKING A STONE.

The best sentence in the volume is in the 35th day. The meditation is upon the preaching of John: "he that in his preaching maketh himselfe admired, and not Jesus Christ, and draweth the harts of his hearers after himselfe, and not after Jesus Christ, is a thiefe, employing his Maisters money and guiftes to his owne uses, and not to his Maisters honour." The three pilgrims being benighted, climbed an oak to pass the night One of them said, "If it rains, what shall we do?" "We will doe," answered another, "as they do in Normandy." "And what do they there?" replied he. "They let it rain," quoth the other. At eleven o'clock at night, they are alarmed by a horrible spectacle. A monstrous old goat, with a black candle burning blue between his horns, read in a book, making a circle, when sixty-six sorcerers and witches came riding through the air, to this devil's ball. As they arrived, they did the old goat homage, by kissing under his

[1] See Library of Learning, 8vo, p. 465.

tail, and commenced dancing. Upon a bank they made an altar, and parodied the sacrifice of the mass. At length, the old goat caught sight of the pilgrims ; in a moment the dance was dashed ; three of them were turned into fierce wolves, who mounted the tree to devour the pilgrims ; but *they* made the sign of the cross, and said, "*Jesus Maria ;*" the wolves fell down like sacks of corn, and the assembly vanished, leaving a most horrible stench behind them ;[1] as if the plague had there burnt all the rags of her infection. All this is narrated, not as an allegory, but as a matter of fact. When such abominable stories were believed, we can hardly wonder at the brutal severity of our laws against poor old women, called witches.

In the morning, among gobbets of flesh and other foul matters, they found a piece of turnip, cut to resemble a host,[9] with a silver chalice and paten ; these they carried to the nearest Monastery, from which they had been stolen.

A merchant, who had befriended the pilgrims, when in the most imminent danger of being murdered, vowed to devote himself to religion, and was instantly carried, by invisible agency, through the air, for many miles to a monastery, where he took the vows.

The pilgrims meet some, *beset with pretended reformation*, and recover them to holy church, by narrating some miracles ; among others, one of a priest, who was captured by the Turks, and on his refusing to turn Mahomedan, they took out his bowels and heart, and put them into his hands, leaving him to be devoured by wild beasts. But in fulfilment of a vow that he had made to the blessed Virgin, he got up and walked to Loretto, with his heart and bowels in his hands—recounted to the officers of the church what had happened, showed them his empty body and *his life* in his hands, and fulfilled his vow ! A painting of this miracle is preserved in the chapel. The pilgrims, on the fortieth day, return in safety and become monks. This curious and rare volume ends with the Litany, Rosary, and Corone of the Blessed Virgin, in English : being the official prayers to Mary, as sanctioned by the church. These illustrate the dispute as to whether or not she is an object of worship with the Romish Church. The following is "The Oblation of the Assumption :"

"O Soueraigne Lady and Virgin, the honour of mankind, and beauty of the heavens, I humbly offer unto thee 10. *Aves* and one *Pater-noster*, to the glorious mystery of the Assumption ; when by the B. Sonne, thou wert called to his euerlasting glory, & deseruedst at thy happy passage to haue present the holy Apostles thy seruants, & wast receiued body and soule into the heauenly habitations of the celestiall spirits, as Queene of the Angels & mother of their Lord & maister."

The lady, who, with considerable talent and great humility published Bunyan in epic poetry, under the signature of C. C. V. G., in a note to a "Key," says, "It is a certain fact, and one not very generally known, that a complete design of a Pilgrim's Progress is to be found in Lucian's 'Hermotimus ;' it is not to be imagined that Bunyan could have seen it there, from the limited educational advantages he possessed ; yet, the obvious allegory occurred to his mind,

[1] Pages 356, 357. This volume is of extreme rarity—it is in the Editor's library.

[9] Host, the consecrated wafer.

unschooled as it was, in a similar arrangement with that suggested by Lucian."

Mr. Tooke thus translates the passage:[1] "Hermotimus, of Cladomena, of whom it is related, that his soul often quitted him, and after having wandered a long while about the world by itself, returned again into its body, and that Hermotimus was several times taken for dead, and always rose again." To this Mr. Wieland adds a note: "It was a singular gift that he had of being able to leave his body, and come into it again; and as a proof that his soul, while its body lay for dead, was actually out of it; he knew, not only to give account of the remotest places, and of what he had there seen and heard, with accuracy and in conformity to truth, but also foretold sundry future events, as earthquakes and other calamities, which actually came to pass. And this he carried on so long, that his faithful wife was induced to deliver up his body, during one such emigration of the soul, to his enemies, who immediately burnt it. And thus for ever stopped all re-entrance to the poor soul. The learned Bishop Huet directly pronounces this beautiful story, to be an old wife's tale." Where the poor burnt-out soul obtained another habitation, we are not told. This idea has been lately revived, among other absurdities called Mesmerism, but what idea Bunyan could get from it, is far beyond my comprehension.

The book that has been most noticed as likely to have been seen by Bunyan, is *Bolswert's Pilgrimage of Duyfkens and Willemynkens*, 8vo, Antwerp, 1627. It was translated into French, and became somewhat popular. This book was noticed by two gentlemen from Yorkshire, who called to see my extensive collection of early English bibles and books, about twenty years ago. Among other books they noticed a very fine copy of this rare volume of Bolswert's, the prints in which reminded them of Bunyan's Pilgrim, and on their return to the north, a paragraph was inserted in a provincial

[1] Lucian's Works, translated by Tooke, with Wieland's notes, 4to, 1820, vol. 2, p. 268.

paper stating that our Pilgrim's Progress was a translation. The falsehood of such a statement has been fully proved by Mr. Southey, to whom the identical volume was lent for the purpose of fully entering into the question, and there appears not to be the slightest similarity in the two stories; the cuts which struck my visitors were—A man sleeping, and a pilgrim leaning over the bed; through the open door two pilgrims are seen walking; they stoop on the bank of a river, at the head of which, in the distance, the sun is setting. Another cut represents the pilgrims with foolscaps on their heads, driven by a mob, and one of them before a man sitting with his secretary at a table; a third shows the alarmed pilgrim in a circle of lighted candles, while a necromancer produces goblins and sprites from an overhanging hill; a fourth shows the two pilgrims going up a steep mountain, when one of them falls over the brink. The story is, that Dovekin goes to Willemynken to awake her, and she sets out; they wash in a river which has its source in Rome, and, taking *the Netherlands in its way,* flows on to Jerusalem. They are infested with vermin at a kermes; go through a number of ridiculous adventures, until one is blown from a rock, and is lost; the other arrives at Jerusalem and is married.

The Pilgrim's Practice, containing many Godly Prayers. By Robert Bruen. 8vo, Lond. 1621.

The Soule's Progresse to the Celestiall Canaan or Heavenly Jerusalem. By way of godly meditations and holy contemplations. Accompanied with divers learned exhortations and pithy perswasions, tending to Christianity and Humanity. In two parts. First on the Nature of God, and second on the Sum of the Gospel. By John Wells, small 4to, 1639.

"*The Pilgrim's Profession.*" This is accompanied by "The Pearl of the Gospel;" with a glass for Gentlemen to dress themselves by. By Thomas Taylor, D.D. 8vo, 1624.

There is nothing allegorical in these volumes.

We now come to a similar class of books published during Bunyan's life.

Wholesome Repast for the Soule in her Pilgrimage towards Jerusalem which is above. By John Hodges. A pocket volume, 1638.

This is a series of meditations on passages of Holy Writ, arranged in the order of the alphabet.

True Inventory of the Goods and Chattels of Superstition, late of the parish of Ignorance in the county of Blind Devotion. 4to, 1642.

The Last Will and Testament of Sir J. Presbyter, with his admonitions to legions of perjured friends. 4to, 1647.

The two last belong to a series of satirical attacks upon Episcopacy.

The Christian Pilgrim in his Conflict and Conquest. By John Castaniza. A curious but not allegorical volume of popish instructions, with fine plates. Printed in Paris, 1652.

Bernard's Isle of Man; or, the Legal Proceedings in Manshire against Sin.

This interesting little volume was very popular. The author, a puritan member of the Church of England, whose nonconformity was permitted from the personal respect felt for him by his bishop. The purity of his life; his zeal for the conversion of perishing sinners; and his obedience to the dictates of his own conscience would, but for such protection, have subjected him to persecution. The late Dr. Adam Clarke[1] considered that there was much reason to believe that The Isle of Man, or Spencer's Fairy Queen, gave birth to the Pilgrim's Progress and Holy War. Dr. Southey[2] imagines that Bunyan had seen this book, because his verses introductory to the second part have some similarity to Bernard's Apology for his Allegory, which closes the volume. Such authorities induced me to a careful re-perusal of a book which had given me much pleasure in by-gone days. Sin is the Thief and Robber; he stealeth our graces; spoileth us of every blessing; utterly undoeth us, and maketh miserable both body and soul. He is a murderer; spares no person, sex, or age; a strong thief; no human power can bind him; a subtle thief; he beguiled Adam, David, yea, even Paul. The only watchman to spy him out is Godly-Jealousy; then his resort is in Soul's Town, lodging in the heart. Sin is to be sought in the by-lanes, and in Sense, Thought, Word,

[1] Postscript to Wetherall's Life of Bunyan prefixed to the Pilgrim, an Epic Poem, by C. C. V. G., Parsons' Town, 1844. [2] Life of Bunyan, p. xci.

and Deed Streets. The hue and cry is after fellows called *Outside*, who nod or sleep at church, and, if awake, have their mind wandering; Sir Worldly-wise, a self-conceited earth-worm; Sir Luke-warm, a Jack-on-both-sides; Sir Plausible Civil; Master Machiavel; a licentious fellow named Libertine; a snappish fellow, one Scrupulosity; and one Babbling-Babylonian; these conceal the villain Sin. To escape, he pretends to be an honest man; calls vices by virtuous names; his relations, Ignorance, Error, Opinion, Idolatry, Subtilty, Custom. Forefathers, Sir Power, Sir Sampler, Sir Most-do, Sir Silly. Vain Hope, Presumption, Wilful and Saint-like, all shelter and hide him. The Justice, Lord Jesus, issues his warrant, God's Word; the Constable, Mr. Illuminated-Understanding, dwelling in Regeneration, aided by his wife Grace; his sons Will and Obedience, and his daughters Faith, Hope, and Charity, with his men Humility and Self-Denial, and his maids Temperance and Patience. Having got his warrant, he calls to aid his next neighbour Godly Sorrow, with his seven sons Care, Clearing, Indignation, Fear, Vehement Desire, Zeal, and Revenge; these are capable of apprehending the sturdiest thief. He goes to the common inn, an harlot's house called Mistress Heart, a receptacle for all villains and thieves, no dishonest person being denied house-room. Mistress Heart married her own father, one Old Man, keeping riot night and day, to prevent any godly motion from lodging there. The house has five doors, Hearing, Seeing, Tasting, Smelling, and Feeling. Eleven maids, impudent harlots, wait upon the guests, Love, Hatred, Desire, Detestation, Vain-hope, Despair, Fear, Audacity, Joy, Sorrow, and Anger, and a man-servant Will. The Dishes are the lusts of the flesh, served in the platter of pleasure; the lust of the eyes in the plate of profit; and the pride of life. The drink is the pleasures of sin; their bedroom is natural corruption. "In this room lyeth Mistress Heart, all her maids, her man, and all her guests together like wild Irish." The bed is impenitency, and the coverings carnal security; when the constable enters, he attaches them all with *apprehensions of God's wrath*, and carries them before the judge, who examines the prisoners, and imprisons them until the assizes, in the custody of the jailor, New Man. "If any prisoner breaks out, the sheriff Religion must bear the blame; saying, This is your religion, is it?" The keepers and fetters, as vows, fasting, prayer, &c., are described with the prison.

The second part is the trial of the prisoner, and judgment without appeal: the commission is Conscience; the circuit the Soul; the counsel for the king are Divine Reason and Quick-sightedness; the clerk Memory; the witness Godly Sorrow; the grand jury Holy Men, the inspired authors; the traverse jury Faith, Love of God, Fear of God, Charity, Sincerity, Unity, Patience, Innocency, Chastity, Equity, Verity, and Contentation; all these are challenges by the prisoners, who would be tried by Nature, Doubting, Careless, &c., all freeholders of great means. This the judge overrules; Old Man is put on his trial first, and David, Job, Isaiah, and Paul, are witnesses against him. He pleads "There is no such thing as Original Corruptions; Pelagius, a learned man, and all those now that are called Anabaptists, have hitherto, and yet do maintain, that sin cometh by imitation, and not by inbred pravity.[4] Good, my lord, cast not away so old a man, for I am at

[4] Acts xxviii. 22. This slander was thus published in 1683. In the face of the Baptist Confession of Faith, printed in 1646, presented to parliament, and many times reprinted, the eleventh Article in which is—"In the beginning God made all things very good; created man after his own image; full with all

this day 5569 years old." He is found guilty, and his sentence is—"Thou shalt be carried back to the place of execution, and there *be cast off, with all thy deeds, and all thy members daily mortified and crucified with all thy lusts*, of every one that hath truly put on Christ." Mistress Heart is then tried; Moses (Gen. viii. 21); Jeremiah (xvii. 9); Ezekiel, Matthew (xv. 9), and others, give evidence, and she is convicted, and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment under the jailor, Mr. New-Man. All the rest of the prisoners are tried; the juries called in due order; prisoners plead; witnesses are called; defence heard; verdict given, and sentence passed. One among the prisoners, named Papistry, has a long trial with numerous scriptures brought to testify against him: his sentence closes the book—"That thou, the Master of Iniquity, with the Old Serpent called the Devil, or Satan thy father, with thy lewd mother that great whore, drunk with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus, which sitteth upon a scarlet-coloured beast; as also with that false prophet, the son of perdition, thy guide and governor, shall be cast alive where the dragon is, into the lake of fire burning with brimstone, there to be tormented with all the marked ones in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb; without rest day and night, the smoke of which torment shall ascend up for ever and for ever, without mercy or hope of redemption." The contents form a key to the allegory. There is not the slightest similarity between this and the Pilgrim's Progress, and the only resemblance it bears to the Holy War is making the senses the means of communication with the heart or soul—an idea usual and universal in every age, the use of which cannot subject a writer to the charge of plagiarism. A correspondent in the Gentleman's Magazine[4] imagines the following strange genealogy or descent: Bunyan from Bernard; from Fletcher's Purple Island; from Spencer's Fairy Queen; from Gawin Douglas's King Hart; from the Old Mysteries and Moralities; *he might have added*, from the dreams of the fathers!!!

Scudder's Christian's Daily Walk, 1625.

This excellent book was much read by the Puritans and Nonconformists, and was strongly recommended by Dr. Owen and R. Baxter. The sum of it is a Christian's directions to walk with God. The moral actions of man's life are aptly resembled by the metaphor of walking; no man while he liveth here is at home. There are two contrary homes to which every man is always going, either to heaven or to hell. Every action of man is one pace or step whereby he goeth to the one place or the other; so that God's own children, while they live in this world as pilgrims and strangers, are but *in the way*, not *in the country* which they seek.

meet perfection of nature, and free from all sin; but long he abode not in this honour, Satan using the subtilty of the serpent to seduce, first Eve, then by her seducing Adam, who, without any compulsion, in eating the forbidden fruit, transgressed the command of God and fell, whereby *death came upon all his posterity*, who *now are conceived in sin, and, by nature, the children of wrath, the servants of sin, the subjects of death, and other miseries in this world, and for ever, unless the Lord Jesus Christ set them free.*" How marvellous that a pious clergyman, while presenting to the world the Trial of Sin, should be guilty of so great a piece of iniquity, as this gross and uncalled-for misrepresentation.

[4] January, 1844, p. 32.

A Spiritual Duel between a Christian and Satan. By H. J. 1646; with a frontispiece representing a Saint armed, supported by Faith, Hope, and Charity, fighting Diabolus, attended by Mundus and Caro. Flame is proceeding from the mouth of Diabolus. This is a long and dreary conference between a sinner and Satan, with soliloquies and prayers extending over 425 pages, not relieved by any thing allegorical.[5]

A Spiritual Journey of a young man towards the Land of Peace to live essentially in God, who met in his journey with three sorts of dispute. With some proverbs or sentences, which the old age spake to the young man. Also a Spiritual dialogue whereunto is annexed a round or chorus dance, whereunto the vain heathenish lusts, with their wicked confused loose minds and thoughts (as well in confusion as in a show of holiness) assemble from all corners of the earth and dancing hand in hand skip and jump to Hell. Translated out of Dutch. London, printed by J. Macock, 1659. Small 4to.

There is nothing allegorical in this volume; it consists of disputations, proverbs, and dialogues, the whole intent of which is to show that an illuminated uniform spirit must be sought, not from the Bible, but from inward light, and that to seek knowledge from the scriptures without that spirit, is like journeying by night with a lanthorn in which there is no light—fighting with a scabbard without a sword—quenching thirst with a vessel in which is no wine, or being contented when hungry with a cupboard or bin without bread.

A fine copy of this book is in the library of Mr. H. Althans, jun.

Under the Commonwealth, a great effort was made to purify the church, by an examination of all the clergymen, who, either from profane conduct, ignorance, or want of talent, or whose violent attachment to monarchy led them to foment rebellion against the Government, and who were unfit for the work of the ministry. These triers and judges are all named in an ordinance of the Lords and Commons, 20th October, 1645, and 26th September, 1646. The description of characters is thus given:

[5] In the library of Mr. H. Althans, jun.

"All persons that shall blasphemously speak or write any thing of God, his holy word, or Sacraments. An incestuous person. An adulterer. A fornicator. A drunkard. A profane swearer or curser. One that hath taken away the life of any person maliciously. All worshippers of images, Crosses, Crucifixes, or Reliques; all that shall make any images of the Trinity, or of any Person thereof. All religious worshippers of Saints, Angels, or any mere creature. Any person that shall profess himself not to be in charity with his neighbour. Any person that shall challenge any other person by word, message, or writing to fight, or that shall accept such challenge and agree thereto. Any person that shall knowingly carry any such challenge by word, message, or writing. Any person that shall upon the Lord's day use any dancing, playing at dice, or cards, or any other game; Masking, Wake, Shooting, Bowling, playing at foot-ball, or stool-ball, Wrestling, or that shall make, or resort unto any plays, interludes, fencing, Bull-baiting or Bear-baiting, or that shall use hawking, hunting or coursing, fishing or fowling, or that shall publickly expose any wares to sale, otherwise than as is provided by an ordinance of parliament. Any person that shall travel on the Lord's Day without reasonable cause. Any person that keepeth a known stewes or brothel house, or that shall solicit the chastity of any person for himself or any other. Any person, father or mother, that shall consent to the marriage of their child to a papist, or any person that shall marry a papist. Any person that shall repair for any advice unto any witch, wizard or fortune teller. Any person that shall assault his parents, or any magistrate, Minister, or Elder in the execution of his office. Any person that shall be legally attainted of Burretry, Forgery, Extortion, or Bribery. And the severall and respective Elderships shall have power likewise to suspend from the sacrament of the Lords Supper all ministers that shall be duly proved to be guilty of any of the crimes aforesaid, from giving or receiving the Sacrement of the Lords Supper." With power to appeal to the provincial Assembly, to the Nationall, and from thence to the Parliament.[1]

The commissioners, called triers, ejected many from their livings who had been a disgrace to their calling; and this has been since called *the sufferings of the clergy.* To ridicule some of the Calvinistic doctrines, a small volume was published entitled "The Examination of Tilenus in Utopia:" London, 1658, said to have been written by Bishop Womack;[2] and merely because the names of the supposed triers, are Dr. Absolute, Mr. Fatality, Mr. Fri-babe, Dr. Damn-man, Mr. Take o' Trust, Mr. Narrow Grace [Philip Rye], Mr. Know-little [Hugh Peters], Dr. Dubious [R. Baxter], &c.; therefore it has been asserted[3] that Bunyan must have read and profited by this book, in composing his allegorical works.

[1] An original copy in possession of the Editor—pp. 5—7.

[2] Southey's Life of Bunyan, p. 92.

[3] A most intelligent bookseller, and a great admirer of Bunyan, lent me two volumes, observing that it was univer-

It is neither a Pilgrim's Progress, a Holy War, or a Heavenly Footman; and to imagine that Bunyan was assisted by this book, merely because the triers are named after some doctrinal or practical bias; is as absurd as to suppose that the boys in a grammar school were aided by Bunyan, because they nick-named their master, "Dr. Flog'em," for his unmanly and absurd attempts to drive Latin by force into his pupils.

We now come to a short Pilgrimage which has in it one feature similar to the perseverance of Christian. It is one of the delightful Poems of George Herbert's, in his Pocket Volume called "The Temple," entitled:[4]

The Pilgrimage.

"I travel on, seeing the hill, where lay
My expectation.
A long it was and weary way
The gloomy cave of Desperation
I left on the one, and on the other side
The rock of Pride.

And so I came to Phansies meadows strewed
With many a flower
Fain would I here have made abode,
But I was quicken'd by my hour.
So to cares cops I came, and there got through
With much ado.

That led me to the wild of Passion; which
Some call the world;
A wasted place, but sometimes rich,
Here I was robb'd of all my gold,
Save one good Angel, which a friend had ti'd
Close to my side.

At length I got unto the gladsom hill,
Where lay my hope,
Where lay my heart; and climbing still,
When I had gain'd the brow and top,
A lake of brackish waters on the ground
Was all I found.

sally admitted that the triers had aided our Author; but if he had ever read the triers, it must have tried his patience, and satisfied him that there was not the slightest ground for such an admission.

[4] Eleventh edition, pp. 135, 136.

With that abash'd and struck with many a sting,
Of swarming fears,
I fell, and cry'd, Alas my King!
Can both the way and end be tears?
Yet taking heart, I rose, and then perceiv'd
I was deceived.

My hill was further: So I slung away,
Yet heard a cry
Just as I went, *None goes that way*
And lives: If that be all, said I,
After so foul a Journey death is fair,
And but a chair."

The only similarity is that Christian goes up the hill Difficulty, he hears the cry of Timorous and Mistrust: "Just before us lie a couple of lions; if we came within reach, they would presently pull us in pieces." Christian's reply was: "If I go back, I shall perish. If I can get to the celestial city, I am sure to be in safety there. I must venture."[6]

The Pilgrim's Pass to the New Jerusalem. By M. R. Gent, London, 1659, small 8vo.

This volume contains a series of meditations on passages of Scripture, intended to convey the consolations of a good hope through faith in the Redeemer to his pilgrims. It contains nothing allegorical.

Philothea's Pilgrimage to Perfection. Described in a Practice of Ten Days' Solitude. By Brother John of the Holy Cross, Frier Minour. Small 8vo, Bruges, 1668.[7]

A rare volume, published during the time that Bunyan was writing his Pilgrim's Progress; and it is not at all probable that he saw this Roman Catholic production; but if he had seen and read it, he could not have gleaned a hint to use in his wondrous Dream. It is dedicated to the Countess Dowager of Sussex. In this, Brother John Cross has made a wonderful discovery,—that countesses being the more refined images of God above the vulgar, have by their noble descent a clearer aptness to sublime thoughts and actions! What could such a man have thought of the son of a carpenter, of fishermen, of publicans, or of tent-makers? The pilgrim's name is "Philothea:" she enters on her pilgrimage with the author's good wishes, expressed in the language of Holy Toby: "*Walk well, God be in thy way, and his holy Angell accompany Thee.*" The journey is divided into ten days' solitary employment, that the pilgrim might be ravished into the heavenly paradise, to hear and see what we are loath to leave and cannot utter. To attain this, very minute directions are given as to time, place, posture of body, method, choice of a guide, &c. The guide he describes as "a medicine of life and immortality." "Woe be to him that is alone," says Brother John, probably

[6] Page 47.

[7] In the editor's library.

feeling under his state of celibacy. His qualification is knowledge, charity, and discretion; he will securely lead thee to rest and peace. Her exercises are to be vocal prayer, reading spiritual books, corporal mortifications, and manual labour; use only one meal a day; to this add, a hair cloth next the skin and occasional floggings. These are general instructions, which are followed by objects for meditation on each day's journey, so as to arrive at perfection in ten days: solitude, humility and austerity, patience and charity, vileness by sin, the sacrament, mortification, flight from earth, spiritual life, God speaking to man, love's ascents and descents, the soul's repose in God, union with Christ, and ending with meditations upon the Passion.

Reading's Guide to the Holy City, or Directions and Helps to an Holy Life. 4to, Oxford, 1657.

There is nothing allegorical in this volume.

An Hue and Cry after Conscience: or the Pilgrim's Progress by Candle-Light in Search after Honesty and Plain Dealing. Represented under the Similitude of a DREAM. Wherein is discovered The Pritty manner of his setting out. His Pleasant Humours on his Journey. The Disappointment he met with after all his Search. Together, With his flight at last into another Country, where he is still on his Rambles. Written by John Dunton. 1685. 18mo.

The advertisement to the reader says that as the author's previous work was of the pilgrim's journey to an heavenly country, so now of all sorts of wicked pilgrims of either sex, that are either posting directly to hell or madly dancing and frollicking upon the brink of destruction. Progressing by candle-light, all manner of vice and roguery is painted to the life, in its proper colours; and then brought to light as a fatal spectacle to the thinking and gazing part of mankind, together with the most eminent cheats of all trades and professions.

This is a display of vice, villainy, and deceit of every description, without any continuous plot; and it adds one to a thousand proofs of the degraded and debauched state of society in the reign of Charles II., and of our happy exemption from such scenes. Morality and purity have extended as voluntary efforts to spread divine truth increased; awful was the state of society when none but state-paid priests were permitted to teach the glad tidings of salvation.[1]

The Plaine Mans Path-way to Heaven. By Arth. Dent. 1601.

There is a rare tract under this title in black letter, with a wood-cut of the author, 12 leaves; but the book that was made a blessing to Bunyan is a small octavo volume.

This little book made a considerable part of the worldly goods which Bunyan's

[1] A copy of this book is preserved in Dunton's Works, No. 700, $\frac{3}{3}$, in the British Museum.

first wife brought as her portion, and it became one of the means by which he was awakened from the dreary sleep of sin, and therefore an invaluable portion. It is singular that no one has charged him with taking any hints from this book, which is one of the very few books which he is known to have read prior to his public profession of faith and holiness in baptism. The author, in his epistle, calls it "a controversie with Satan and Sinne." It is a dialogue between "a Divine, an Honest Man, an Ignorant Man, and a Caviller." They commence about buying a good cow, then worth *four pounds*, and are drawn into religious conversation. The author is so high a Calvinist, that speaking of infants, he says, "some no doubt are saved through the election of grace." He commences with the new birth: arguments are adduced to show why good and worthy men are lost, because they esteem a preacher no more than a shoemaker, nor the Scriptures than their old shoes. He places lying among the principal sins, which he calls the Beelzebubs of the world. He introduces very familiar illustrations and well-known proverbs. Speaking against pride, he says, "How proud many (especially women) be of baubles. For when they have spent a good part of the day in tricking and trimming, pricking and pinning, pranking and pouncing, girding and lacing, and braving up themselves in most exquisite manner, out they come into the streets with their pedler's shop upon their backs and take themselves to be little Angels—they are one lump of pride—the time will come when they and all their gay clouts will be buried in a grave—what will all this profit them when their bodies are buried in the dust and their souls in hell fire? what then will they say of these doubled and redoubled ruffs, strutting fardingales, long locks, fore tufts, shag haire and new fashions?" He complains of two marks being paid for a pair of stockings [£1 6s. 8d.]! "What say you to our artificial women, which will be better than God hath made them? they like not his handy work, they will mend it—they will have other complections, other hair, other bones, and other than God made them." Modern refinement prevents one of these words from being copied; but the monstrous deformity shown by some ladies of our day, appears then to have been in fashion. Dent calls such ladies, pictures, puppets, and peacocks. Had Bunyan been a plagiarist, how readily might he have borrowed an idea from Dent of the Muck-rake. "The gripple muck-rakers had as leve part with their blood as their goods. They will pinch their own backs and bellies to get their god into their chests." But Bunyan's Muck-rake is all his own. "Mony lazie lozels and luskish youths do nothing but walk the streets, sit on stalls and frequent Ale houses. Many rich women do ordinarily lie in bed till nine of the clock and then forsooth rise, and make themselves ready to goe to dinner. And after they have well dined, they spend the rest of the day, and a good part of the night also in playing, prattling, babbling, cackling, prating, and gossipping. Fie on this idle life."[2]

The enmity of the natural man against those who bear the image of Christ is thus expressed: "It is a wonder to consider how deadly the wicked hate the righteous, and almost in every Thing oppose themselves against them: and that in most virulent and spiteful manner. They raile and slander, scoff and scorne, mocke and mowe at them, as though they were not worthy to live upon the earth. They esteeme every pelting Rascall, and prefer euery vile Varlet before them. And though they have their liues and liberty, their breath and safety, and all that

[2] Page 170.

they haue else by them [for their sakes], yet for all that, they could be content to eate their heart with garlicke: so great, so fiery, so burning and hissing-hot is their fury and malice against them. They may be compared to a man that standeth upon a bough in the top of a tree, and with an axe choppeth it off, & therewithall falleth down with it, and breaketh his necke."[1] Dent, speaking of the entrance by the strait gate, says: "It must be done by great strife against the world, the flesh, and the Diuell—none can enter in without vehement crowding and almost breaking their shoulder-bones—many which seek shall not bee able to enter." How different to Bunyan's description: "Knock, and it shall be opened unto you." Yet both are right: one places his obstacles long before the pilgrim arrives at the gate; then, having overcome the world and the flesh, the devil shoots at him;—the other reserves all the Christian's opposition to the time when entering the gate. Dent's language is picturesque: "We haue all the Diuels in hell against vs, with all their horns, heads, marvellous strength, infinite wiles, cunning devices, deepe slights, and methodical temptations. Here runnes a sore streame against vs. Then haue we this present euill world against us, with her innumerable baits, snares, netts, gins and grins to catch vs, fetter vs and entangle vs. Heer haue wee profittes and pleasures, riches and honour, wealth and preferment, ambition and couetousnesse. Heere comes in a Camp-royall of spirituall and inuisible enemies. Lastly we haue our flesh, that is, our corrupted nature against vs: wee haue our-selues against our-selues." This book was written fifty years after the reformation; but so slow were the clergy to teach or the people to learn, that when a farmer is asked, "What is the end of receiving the sacrament?" he answered, "To receive my maker." And when asked how many sacraments there were, his answer was, "Two, Bread and Wine"! Bunyan must have felt the force of such language as this: "Every sin that a man committeth is as a thorn thrust deep into the soul: which will not be got out again but with many a sigh, and many a sorrowful Oh! Oh! Every sin is written with a pen of iron, and the point of a diamond upon the conscience which if not felt in this life, then with woe and alas when it is too late." The farmer being deeply affected with a sense of his danger, Atheist advises him to read "The Court of Venus, The palace of Pleasure, Bevis of Southampton, Ellen of Rummin, The Merry jest of the friar and the boy, The pleasant story of Clem of the Clough, Adam Bell, and William of Cloudesley, The odd tale of William Richard & Humfrey: The pretty conceit of John Splinters last will—excellent books against heart qualms and dumpishness." To which the zealous minister replied: "They are good to kindle a fire—they were devised by the devil, seen and allowed by the Pope, printed in Hell, bound by Hobgoblins and published in Rome, Italy and Spain."[2]

This volume must have been exactly suited to the warm imagination of Bunyan. It had proved invaluable to him as a means of conversion; but after a careful and delightful perusal, no trace can be found of any phrase or sentence having been copied into the Pilgrim's Progress.

The result of long, anxious, and expensive inquiries is that from the first idea to the completion of his Pilgrim's Pro-

[1] Page 221.

[2] Page 371, 372, edit. 1625.

gress, it entirely flowed from Bunyan's own soul. Well might he say:

"Manner and matter too, was all mine own."

Bishop Patrick's Parable of the Pilgrim. 4to, 1687.

Whoever has patience to wade through ten pages of Bishop Patrick's Parable, must be fully convinced that his lordship's limping and unwieldly Pilgrim will never be able, with all his hobbling, to overtake, or even to get within sight of John Bunyan by many a thousand miles; a striking proof that exquisite natural ability casts a brighter and more captivating lustre, than the deepest acquired parts. The bishop's pilgrim has only one description which has the slightest similarity to Bunyan's style. A gentleman rides up to the pilgrims, "very civil and inviting," but they observed that he had a sword by his side, and a pair of pistols before him, together with another instrument hanging at his belt, which was formed for pulling out of eyes. They told him, "We are strongly possessed against those who would make us believe we cannot see our way unless we let them pull out our eyes, and who are not content to labour by reason to bring them to their bent, but shoot them to death if they stiffly refuse, as if they were but rogues and thieves." The learned bishop does not approve of the Roman Catholics using force, pulling out of eyes, or shooting churchmen; while at that very time his own church, if dissenters refused, to use his own phrase, to have their eyes pulled out, sent them to prison, tormented them, and in some cases they hung, drew, and quartered them! On getting rid of him, another man, more sad and melancholy, crossed their way, with a dagger by his side and a pistol peeping out of his pocket; he represents the Presbyterians or Independents, and to him the Episcopalian says, "I retain my own eyes, but use also those of 'the Conductors of Souls: and am glad with all mine heart that I have met with one both to teach and to watch over me.' Your dagger will soon grow to a sword; you pretend to liberty, and will give none." How

true is the saying, "with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged.'" The very crime which the learned bishop imputes to others, was most prominently his own; for at that time no church was more hostile to the Christian's duty of seeing with his own eyes or judging for himself from a personal examination of the sacred Scriptures. The bishop exclaims against those who persecuted his church, but veils the infamous protestant persecutions by which that same church was spotted as with a leprosy.

After all Patrick is but a sorry pedlar, dealing in damaged wares; for instead of Christian experience formed from Scripture, we find scraps from the philosophers and heathen mythology. Patrick and Bunyan were writing their pilgrims about the same time: they do not appear to have any thing in common. Patrick was a learned man, and his elaborate work requires the pains to read it which he took in its composition; while Bunyan's story flowed freely from his rich imagination, and the reader enjoys it with the same flowing pleasure.

The sixth edition of the Parable of the Pilgrim has a finely executed frontispiece, representing a pilgrim leaving a city and going a round-about way to the New Jerusalem, which shines forth in the clouds.[1]

Jesus, Maria, Joseph or the devout Pilgrim to the ever blessed Virgin Mary. 12mo, Amsterdam, 1663.

This is a mere guide to devotees in their approaches to the Virgin Mary.

[1] London, 1687.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE EDITIONS OF THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS PUBLISHED DURING THE AUTHOR'S LIFE, WITH NOTICES OF THE MORE PROMINENT MODERN EDITIONS.

THE first edition of the Pilgrim's Progress was published in a foolscap 8vo., in 1678. This volume is of extraordinary rarity; only one copy being known to exist, and that in the most beautiful preservation, in the original binding, clean and perfect. It was discovered in a nobleman's library, and judging from its appearance had never been read. It is now in the cabinet of H. S. Holford, Esq., of Weston Birt House, Tetbury, Gloucestershire. To that gentleman the public are deeply indebted for his liberal permission, not only to copy it, but also to correct the proof sheets of this edition. We are also under great obligation to his very intelligent bookseller, Mr. Thomas Rodd, for the facilities he afforded, both in copying and in correcting the proofs. As the edition now presented to the subscribers is an accurate reprint, not merely verbal, but literal, including the punctuation, and the use of capitals and italics, it will only be needful to point out wherein it differs from the later editions. The volume contains 253 pages, with a black letter head-line. It has no portrait or cuts. It contains some words and sentences which were omitted in all the subsequent editions. As all these omissions and alterations will be seen in reading the text and are explained in the notes, they do not require any particular remarks. The most important of these omissions are on pp. 69, and 131,[1] and these were, very probably, occasioned by typographical errors in printing the later editions.

The second edition was published also in the year 1678. The title is nearly similar to the first, with the words: "The second Edition, with Additions." And to this, very considerable additions had been made; more particularly on our pages 1 to

[1] In every case the page refers to *this* reprint.

4, 12 to 22, 25, 26, 56 to 58, 85, 117, 128 to 131, 136 to 141, and 192. As these are all printed in the present edition between commas, the reader will easily trace them. A copy of this book, wanting the verses at the end, is in the British Museum, and a very fine and perfect one is in the library of W. B. Gurney, Esq., Denmark Hill. It is comprised in 276 pages, has no portrait or cuts. It has many more typographical errors than the first edition, but the spelling is greatly modernized and improved.

The third edition appeared in the following year, 1679, by the same publishers. A most beautiful copy of this rare volume, bound in olive morocco, to all appearance new, is in the library of the Rev. * * * [7]

It contains 287 pages, with a protrait of the author, engraved by R. W. f. marked upon the rock, but no other cut or illustration. In this a considerable addition was made, as will be seen by referring to our page 119 to 126; and this completed the allegory. From that time, every addition presents some little additions of side notes or references, all of which are carefully noted in this reprint.

The fourth edition is by the same publishers, in 1680; it contains 288 pages, and has the portrait. A copy of this is in possession of the executors of the late Lea Wilson, Esq. On the back of the portrait is an "*An Advertisement from the Bookseller.*"

"The *Pilgrim's Progress*, having sold several Impressions, and with good Acceptation among the People (there are some malicious men of our profession of lewd principles, hating honesty, and Coveting other men's rights, and which we call *Land Pirates*, one of this society is called *Thomas Bradyll* a Printer, who I found Actually Printing my book for himself, and five more of his Confederates) but in truth he hath so abominably and basely falcified the true Copie, and changed the Notes, that they have abused the Author in the sense, and the proprietor of his right (and if it doth steal abroad, they put a cheat upon the people). You may distinguish it thus, The Notes are Printed in Long Primer, a base old letter almost worn out, hardly to be read, and such is the Book itself. Whereas the true Copie is Printed in a Leigable fair Character and Brevier Notes as it alwaies has been, this Fourth Edition hath, as the third had, the Author's Picture before the Title

[7] Lent to me by my worthy friend Mr. Leslie, Bookseller, Great Queen Street.

and hath more than 22 passages of Additions, pertinently placed quite thorow the Book, which the counterfeit hath not.

N. Ponder."

"This is Brevier, and the true Copy. "This is Long Primer Letter."

The additions alluded to, are quotations from scripture, and side notes. Dunton had a high opinion of Braddyll, and calls him a first-rate printer, active, diligent, and religious.[2] Ponder certainly did not unite in these encomiums.

The fifth edition is also by Ponder, and was published in 1680, it contains 221 pages. This has the portrait, and one woodcut on page 128,—the Martyrdom of Faithful, with the verse beneath.

The fourth and fifth editions are in the library of the late Lea Wilson, Esq.

The sixth has not been found in a perfect state.

The seventh, in very beautiful preservation, is in the library of R. B. Sherring, Esq. Bristol. It was printed by Ponder, 1681, containing 286 pages, handsomely printed, with the portrait, and the cut of the Martyrdom of Faithful, *on a separate leaf,* between the pages 164 and 165. It was a copy of this edition which Bunyan used in writing his second part, all the references in which, to the first part, are correctly made to this edition. On the back of the portrait is a manuscript memorandum, that the book was given to Thos. Hayward Aug., 1682. Pretium 1s. 6d.

The eighth came out in 1682; it has 212 pages, and two leaves of a list of "Books," printed for Ponder, the publisher. A fine copy of this edition is in Sion College Library. This has, in addition to the portrait and cut of the Martyrdom of Faithful (p. 121), a cut of the pilgrims ascending on the clouds to heaven—p. 204. Mr. Pocock, in the introduction to the Art Union Edition, oblong folio, 1844, describes a copy of this eighth edition, in possession of the late L. Wilson, Esq., as having on p. 135, the cut of Doubting Castle; this is not in the one in Sion College, and if it had been in that copy it

[2] Life and Errors of John Dunton.

would have occupied p. 145, by error numbered 135, but which is filled with letter-press; the same error of paging occurs in the ninth editions, but they have the cut. It is much to be regretted that the lamented death of Mr. Wilson has for the present shut up his library. If his copy is the eighth edition, and has that cut, it proves that there were two eighth editions (so called,) in 1682, but that in Sion College wants the frontispiece which Mr. Wilson's copy possesses. On the back of this is the following

"*Advertisement.*

"The *Pilgrims Progress* having found good Acceptation among the People to the carrying off a Seventh Impression, which had many Additions, more than any preceding: and the Publisher observing, that many persons desired to have it Illustrated with Pictures, hath endeavoured to gratifie them therein; And, besides those that are ordinarily Printed to the fifth Impression, hath provided Thirteen Copper Cuts curiously Engraven for such as desire them."

Of these cuts, which were sold for one shilling, nothing is known, unless they are the set of neat engravings inserted four in a sheet, in Chandler and Wilson's edition of Bunyan's Works, 2 vols. folio, 1737, very fine impressions of which appeared in an early German translation, published in London, and under these are the *English* verses; they are sixteen in number, but if the three "that are ordinarily printed to the eighth impression" be deducted, the number then agress with the advertisement. The whole of these designs were cut in wood, and with the verses printed in the thirteenth edition, and probably in the eleventh or twelfth.

This eighth edition looks as if it was printed with a Dutch type; sheet D, p. 49 to 72, differs from the rest of the volume, and it is very singular that in the two following editions the same difference is found in sheet D, which is a sharper type, and more closely printed.

Gay, in his "What-d'ye-call it?" a farce, represents a man about to be shot, when a countryman offers him a book to pray by; he takes it, and says:

"I will, I will.
Lend me thy handkercher. [Reads and weeps.] 'The Pilgrim's Pro—'
I cannot see for tears! 'Pro— Progress,'—Oh!

'The Pilgrim's Progress—eighth—edi-ti-on,
'Lon-don—print-ed—for—Ni-cho-las Bod-ding-ton:
'With new ad-di-tions never made before,'
'Oh! 'tis so moving, I can read no more!'"

This was first acted in 1715, and proves that the Pilgrim was then a most popular religious book. The late Mr. Heber, and Mr. Wilson, supposed that this referred to the *eighteenth* edition, which was printed for N. Boddington; but might it not more probably refer to the *Eighth edition* of the pilgrim, *part* 2, which was printed by that celebrated publisher.

There are two ninth editions, both bearing the imprint of N. Ponder; the first of these is dated 1683, 212 pages. A copy of this is in the library of Wm. Vines, Esq., of Brewers Hall, and another in possession of L. Pocock, Montague Street. It has a different portrait, but the same woodcuts as to the eighth, with the addition of Doubting Castle on p. 145, numbered 135.

Another, and *distinct* edition, is called the ninth, also by N. Ponder, with the same cuts as the last, on 212 pages, but with a different type; this bears the date of 1684. A copy is in the extensive library of Joshua Wilson, Esq., Highbury. On the back of the portrait, there is the advertisement of the thirteen copper plates in addition to those "ordinarily printed to the eighth impression."

The tenth edition, by Ponder, 1685, on 200 pages. In the title the name is spelt Bunian, but he signs the Apology as usual, Bunyan. This has the frontispiece, and two woodcuts only, that of Doubting Castle is omitted. On the reverse of the title, is this "*Advertisement:*"

The Pilgrims Progress, from this World to that which is to come; The Second Part: delivered under the similitude of a *Dream*, wherein s set forth the Manner of the setting out of Christians Wife and Children, their angerous Journey, And Safe Arrival at the desired Country, by *John Bunian*. *I have used Similitudes.* Hos. 12. v 10. Price One Shilling.

Eleventh edition, date unknown.

Twelfth—the only copy we have seen of this edition has a manuscript title, dated 1688, also by Ponder. This agrees

exactly with the account of the thirteenth edition, given by Mr. Pocock, from Mr. Wilson's copy. It has fourteen wood-cuts, with the verses under each, the last of which affords a curious proof of the extreme carelessness with which this popular work was published. This cut, in the former copies, represented the pilgrims triumphantly rising on the clouds to the celestial city, attended by angels with the crown, and under this was a suitable verse—see page 190. Imagine this cut exchanged for one in which you see the two pilgrims in distress, wading through the river of death; one sinking in despair, the other holding his chin above water; and you read under this picture, the same verse that was placed under that of their triumphal ascent:

> "Now, now look how the holy Pilgrims rise;
> Clouds are their Chariots. Angels are their Guide."

A more complete travesty could hardly have been devised.

Bunyan gives a hint in the verses with which the first part is concluded, of his intention to continue the allegory. This was not done until 1684, and the great popularity of his work induced unworthy men to publish continuations even under a signature intended to cheat the public into a belief that they came from the pen of Bunyan. He thus warns the public, in the verses prefixed to the second part:

> "'Tis true, some have of late, to Counterfeit
> *My* Pilgrim, to their own, my Title set;
> Yea others, half my name and Title too;
> Have stiched to their Book, to make them do;
> But yet they by their *Features* do declare
> Themselves not mine to be, whose ere they are."

No trace has been found of the book or books which appeared before 1684 under Bunyan's initials or half his name. The only counterfeit which has been discovered is in the library of the Baptist Mission House, wanting the frontispiece.[2] It was published under the following title: "The SECOND PART of the **Pilgrims Progress**, from this

[2] A perfect copy is also in the editor's library.

present World of Wickedness and Misery to an eternity of Holiness and Felicity, exactly described under the similitude of a Dream, &c. *They were Strangers and Pilgrims on Earth,* Heb. xi. 13—16. *Let us lay aside every weight and the sin that doth so easily beset us,* Heb. xii. 7. London, for Thomas Malthus at the Sun in the Poultry 1683." The frontispiece has two whole length portraits, one sleeping with his head resting on his hand—both in clerical garb.

The author dedicates with some pomp his little work to Jehovah, and signs it T. S. There are two poems at the end of the volume by R. B., and the author's Apology for his Book. It is very probable, from this Apology, that the author was one of those who when consulted about publishing Bunyan's first part, said "No." He calls Bunyan's volume "a necessary and useful tract, which hath deservedly obtained such an universal esteem and commendation;" and he then destroys all his commendation by discovering a four-fold defect in that discourse,—First, nothing is said of man in his first creation; second, nor of his misery in his lapsed state, before conversion; third, briefly passing over Divine goodness in reconciling sinners; and fourthly, the reading of it occasioned, in vain and frothy minds, lightness and laughter.

Such carping criticism is utterly unworthy of comment. Bunyan finds his pilgrim fallen from his first creation into a state of misery, and under a sense of his danger, crying, "What shall I do to be saved?" He unfolds in multitudinous variety instances of Divine goodness in reconciling sinners, and almost irresistibly leads his reader to accompany the poor pilgrim in his way to the celestial city, full of the solemnity of his heavenly calling.

Who the author of this Pilgrim's Progress is, it may be difficult to ascertain. He dreams that multitudes are dancing in the broad way to misery, and only two or three toiling on the narrow up-hill path to happiness. He accounts for this, first, from infant baptism leading them to imagine that they are in the right path, and that no profaneness can prevent them attaining that eternal inheritance which they vainly imagine to be a right conferred upon them in their christening; secondly, they delight in sin; thirdly, preferring to go to hell with a multitude, rather than to heaven with a few; fourthly, because their reward is of merit and not of gift; fifthly, "many refuse the narrow way because of its simplicity: they must have their glorious colleges and splendid ministers, their beautiful quires, and raised altars, with hangings of arras and tapestry, furnished with the finest silver and gold of Ophir, a gaudy and pompous worship and musick to delight their spirits," &c. He found these people dancing with mirth and jollity round a bottomless pit to the outcries and screeches of the damned, and playing with the flames of hell. One of these madmen becomes alarmed at the preaching of Boanerges, and Conscience and Judgment do their utmost to terrify him. Then comes Affection, and promises the poor penitent wings to fly above the clouds. Will huffs and hectors, and must have him leave off canting and whining; but after a long dialogue, Will consents to go on pilgrimage. They meet with Apollyon, and have other adventures: a poor, spiritless copy of the inimitable first part by Bunyan. After passing more than half his pilgrimage, his old heart is taken out, and a new one given to him.

Under the idea of a feast, where the guests are fed on dishes of gospel mysteries, sauced with eternity, the author states his peculiar notions. He at length arrives at the River ; Faith and Hope support him ; he is received by the Shining Ones, and enters the city. In all probability, this book never reached a second edition, being totally eclipsed by the real Second Part, in 1684.

The author of this forgery, in his Apology, refers to a custom among the Puritans of giving the mourners at a funeral a book instead of rings, gloves, wine, or biscuit. This, he says, would prevent trifling discourse, as is too commonly used on such occasions. Among those few who have practised this, abundance of good hath been done by that means, and who knows, were it more generally used at our burials, what good might be effected thereby? [2]

At length, in 1684, Bunyan published the Second Part of his Pilgrim's Progress in a similar volume to his first. It has 224 pages. For the use of a fine copy of this rare book, we are indebted to the kindness of the executors of the late Lea Wilson, Esq. In this volume seven pages are in a larger type than the rest, from p. 100 to 106 inclusive; p. 106 is numbered 120. It has only one cut,—the dance round the head of Giant Despair. The next edition, which we have been fortunate enough to obtain, has a similar title to the first; it has no indication of what edition it is, but bears the date of 1687. These two editions were published by N. Ponder in the Poultry. The sixth edition appeared in 1693, by Ponder and Boddington in Duck Lane; the ninth is by N. Boddington, at the Golden Ball, in Duck Lane, 1708.

Since that time innumerable editions have issued from the press; but before giving a short account of the most promi-

[2] One of these books is the memorial of a most valuable Seventh-day Baptist: "The Last Legacy of Mr. Joseph Davis, who departed this Life Feb. 16, $170\frac{6}{7}$, being a Brief Account of the most Material Circumstances of his Life and Profession. Written by himself, and given at his Funeral to his Friends and Acquaintance, &c." Within a black border. Another Book used for this purpose was Dr. Bates's Everlasting Rest of the Saints in Heaven. My copy has, within a black border: "In remembrance of Mrs. Mary Cross, the late wife of Mr. John Cross, &c. &c. This book she had a particular respect for ; and therefore it is hoped it will by her Friends be more acceptable than Gloves." It is bound in black, with a gilt skull and cross-bones on the cover.

nent of these, we must not forget an impudent forgery, called the Third Part of this popular allegory.

It was probably the intention of Bunyan to write a third part. Christian's four boys, with their wives and children, remained to be a blessing to the church. He closes his second part with these words: "Should it be my lot to go that way again, I may give those that desire it, an Account of what I here am silent about; mean time I bid my reader, *Adieu.*" His design might have been to display the difficulties of maintaining a course according to godliness in the busy scenes of life, among mechanics, tradesmen, and others. His death in 1688 cut short his labours; but in a short time there appeared,

The Pilgrim's Progress, &c. the Third Part—to which is added The Life and Death of John Bunyan, Author of the first and second part: this compleating the whole Progress.

In a very few years after Bunyan's death, this third part made its appearance; and although the title does not directly say that it was written by Bunyan, yet it was at first generally received as such. In 1695[3] it reached a second edition, and a sixth in 1705. In 1708 it was denounced in the title to the ninth edition of the second part, by a "Note, *the third Part, suggested to be* J. Bunyan's is an imposture." It is surprising that so contemptible a production could for one moment have been received by the public as written by Bunyan. The late Rev. John Newton, in very happy language, asserts that "a common hedge stake deserves as much to be compared with Aaron's rod, which yielded blossoms and almonds, as this poor performance to be obtruded upon the world as the production of Bunyan."[4] Dr. Ryland justly observes, that "when the anonymous scribbler of the third part of the Pilgrim's Progress tried to obtrude his stuff on the world as the production of Mr. Bunyan, the cheat was

[3] The first edition is in the British Museum, but it has no title. The life which is appended to it has the date 1692.

[4] Mr. Newton copied this from the preface of an edition of the Pilgrim's Progress with notes, 12mo, London, 1782.

soon discovered; every Christian of taste could see the difference as easily as we can discern the superior excellence of a Raphael or a Titian from the productions of a common dauber: and we can as easily distinguish Bunyan from all other writers, as we can discern the difference between the finest cambric and a piece of hop-sacking."[5] The author of this forgery is as yet unknown.

It was at first the intention of the council of the Hanserd Knollys Society to print this in small type, as a supplement to this volume; but upon examination, the extreme indelicacy, or more properly, indecency, of some parts, and the absurdity of others, led them to the determination of keeping the pages of Bunyan clear from such impurity. One of the scenes in the cave of Contemplation, is a pompous jumble of absurdities, that might afford a good lesson to young scholars in rhetoric, to show how it may run wild.

For many years the Pilgrim's Progress was continually printed on very ordinary paper, and innumerable were the copies that issued from the press; the wood-cuts, when worn out, were replaced by an inferior set. Each part was published separately, in the ordinary shilling chap-book form; these are sometimes met with bound together, and forming a stout volume. Thus part 1st, twenty-second edition, with new cuts, 1727, with part 2nd, the thirteenth edition, with five cuts and a note, stating that the third part is an imposture; and then part 3rd, thirteenth edition, 1743. Another copy has part 1st, the twenty-third edition, 1731; part 2nd, the fourteenth edition, 1728; and part 3rd, the twelfth edition, not dated. The first edition of the three parts, uniformly printed, which has fallen under our notice, is by J. Clarke, 1743; a MS. memorandum gives the price of the volume, 1s. 6d. The most wretched set of cuts are to an edition printed for D. Bunyan, in Fleet Street; another with similar cuts is sold by J. Bunyan above the Monument, meaning higher up Fish-street Hill than where the Monument stands. At length, in

[5] Preface to Bunyan's Works, 8vo, 1792.

1728, there appeared a handsome edition of the two parts, "Adorned with curious sculptures by J. Sturt." The editor states that the former editions were for the poorer sort at a cheap rate [in a small type], so that many worthy Christians by age and infirmities were deprived of the benefit of it. This was duly weighed by persons of distinction and piety, who determined to have it handsomely printed, and they generously contributed by large subscriptions, to secure its being a correct edition. In comparison with all that had preceded it, this shone forth an elegant 8vo volume, fit at that period to ornament any library or drawing-room. The engravings are from the old designs and well executed. This was for many years considered to be the standard edition, and was frequently reprinted; in 1775, two editions of this volume were published, after which that with Mason's Notes superseded it. Who the editor was is not known; but this book, which was considered to be the most correct edition, very sadly abounds with gross errors. In the conversation when Faithful joined Christian, about the old man who offered Faithful his three daughters, the editor has altered it to "one of them." In part 2, p. 63, "lines" is put for "lions;" another and very serious error occurs in the catechising of James by Prudence; she asks him, "How doth God the Son save thee?" the answer is left out, and the next question; and it appears thus: "By his *illumination*, by his *renovation*, and by his *preservation*." The lines that were omitted are: "*James*. By his Righteousness, Death, and Blood and Life. *Prud.* And how doth God the Holy Ghost save thee?" Mr. Mason, in his edition with notes, took as his standard this erroneous copy, and put a note at the bottom of the page [69]:

(f) I cannot prevail on myself to let this part pass by, without making an observation. Mr. Bunyan expresses himself very clear, and sound in the faith; but here it is not so: for what is here ascribed to the Son, is rather the work of the Spirit; and indeed the work of salvation, effected by the Son of God is intirely left out."[1]

In the next edition with Mason's Notes he, having discovered his error, very properly inserted the missing lines,

but as improperly continued his note reflecting upon Bunyan.[2]

A line is omitted in Sturt's edition, part 2, p. 185, and in many subsequent ones. "How were their Eyes now filled with celestial visions," should be "how were their Ears now filled with heavenly noises and their Eyes delighted with celestial visions." But a more unaccountable error occurs in the first part, p. 95, where Bunyan says "the Brute[3] in his kind serves God far better than he" [Talkative], the printer has strangely altered the word "Brute" for "Brewer." It is easier to account for an error in printing a missal in Paris, in the rubrick of which should be, "Ici le prêtre ôtera sa calotte," here the priest shall take off his cap; but in printing, the "a" was exchanged for "u" in calotte: the printer was ruined and the books burnt. It is quite impossible to notice all the errors; they abound in almost every page of all these interesting editions. Some of these errors have been continued through nearly all the modern editions, with other serious alterations. Thus, when the pilgrims in the second part,[4] leave the Delectable Mountains, they in a song record the goodness of God in giving them, at proper distances, places of rest, "Behold, how *fitly* are the stages set!" the word "stages" is altered in many to "tables;"[5] and in other editions to "stables."[6] When the pilgrims escape from Doubting Castle, they sing, "Out of the way we went," &c.; one line of these verses is left out in all the modern editions, an omission which ought to have been seen and supplied, because all these songs throughout the volume are uniformly in stanzas of six lines. In Hopeful's account of his conversion, Bunyan says, "I have committed sin enough in one duty to send me to hell;" this is altered to "one day."

[2] In possession of S. J. Button, Esq., Racquet-court; of Mr. Gammon, Bethnal-green; and of the editor.

[3] It is correct in the edition of 1728, of which Lord Ashburnham has a very fine copy.

[4] Page 344.

[5] With Scott's Notes and Montgomery's Essay. Glasgow, by Collins.

[6] Edits. with Mason's Notes, and in the first with Sturt's plates, 1728.

In the conversation with Ignorance, Christian observes: "When our thoughts of our hearts and ways agree with the — word;" meaning when we sit in judgment upon our thoughts, and our opinion of our thoughts agrees with the word: but the strength and meaning of this serious passage is lost by altering the words to "when the thoughts of our hearts," &c. This alteration has been very generally, if not universally, made. Another very extraordinary error has crept into many editions, and among them into the elegant copies printed by Southey and the Art Union, with their wild prints in oblong folio. It is in the conversation between Christian and Hopeful about the robbery of Little Faith. Bunyan refers to four characters in Scripture who were notable champions, but who were very roughly handled by Faint-heart, Mistrust, and Guilt: they made David[6] groan, mourn, and roar. Heman and Hezekiah too, though champions in their day, had their coats soundly brushed by them. *Peter* would go try what he could do—they made him at last afraid of a sorry girl.

Some editor not acquainted with Heman,[7] and not troubling himself to find who he was, changed the name to one much more common and familiar, and called him "Haman."[8] More recent editors, including Mr. Southey and the Art Union, probably conceiving that Haman, however exalted he was as a sinner, was not one of the Lord's champions in his day, changed the name to that of Mordecai.[9] A most unwarrantable and foolish alteration. In p. 9 of the second part, "This Vision" is put for "This Visitor." The marginal note, p. 178, "The Light of the Word" is changed to "The Light of the World." This error is perpetuated by Southey and others. A copy of Sturt's edition, with *every* error marked in the text, appears to be more covered with spots than a leopard's skin.

[6] Ps. xxxviii. 102.

[7] See Ps. lxxxviii.

[8] Edits. by Birds and Co., Edinburgh, 8vo; Mosley, Gainsborough, 1792, &c.; London, by Wilkins, 1782, and by D. Bunyan, 1768.

[9] It occurs in an edition, London, by Hodson and Deighton, 1792.

This wondrous Dream has been translated into nearly all the languages of the world. How important, then, to have a standard text, the authority of which might be relied upon as accurate! To Mr. Doe's enumeration of one hundred thousand copies in English having been circulated in the life of the author, must be added all the editions in North America. There were then also translations into French, Flemish, Dutch, Welsh, Gaelic, and Irish; and since then it has been read by the Christian Hebrews in the holy city, Jerusalem, in their own language without points; and probably beside the waters of Jordan and Tiberias; and far may it spread![1] It has also been translated into Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Danish, German, Estonian, Armenian, Burmese, Singhalese, Orissa, Hindostanee; Bengalee, by Dr. Cary, 8vo, Serampore, 1821; Tamil, Marathi, Canarese, Gujaratti, Malay, Arabic, in a handsome 8vo volume, with wood-cuts, printed at Malta; Samoan, Tahitian, Pichuana, Bechuana, Malagasy, New Zealand.[2] And in Dr. Adam Clarke's library was a copy in Latin, entitled Peregrinatis Progressus, a J. Bunyan Lat edit. a Gul. Massey, 4to. A copy of the Welsh translation, published before Bunyan's decease, but which had not come to his knowledge, is in the library of Miss Atherton, of Kersell Cell, near Manchester. That lady not understanding the Welsh language, most readily and kindly furnished me with some particulars of this rare volume, extracted in Welsh. These were translated by our excellent secretary, Dr. Davis; and it appears that the title-page exactly follows the English editions. The preface is signed S. H. It has the marginal notes and references. Licensed by R. Midgley, 23rd of November, 1687. Printed in London by J. Richardson, 12mo, $168\frac{7}{8}$, the 10th of January. "The translator advises such as desire to learn to read Welsh, to buy the Primer and Almanack of Mr. Thomas Jones, because the letters and syllables are in them." Mr. Thomas Rodd informed me that he

[1] Gentleman's Magazine, April, 1844. It is in a small 12mo, the price of which looks Jewish, 6s.

[2] See lists by Tract Society, in Report, 1847, and in "the Pilgrim," a tract. Also copies in possession of the editor.

had lately sold a copy in Welsh, translated by Thomas Jones, published in 1699, small 8vo. The Dutch edition was very neatly printed, with superior cuts, t'Utrecht, by Jan van Paddenburgh, 1684.

The French translation is a neat pocket volume, with copper-plates, Amsterdam, chez Boekholt, 1685. The frontispiece represents our pilgrim with his burden on his shoulders, knocking at the wicket-gate. The title is, Voyage d'un Chrestien vers l'Eternité par Monsieur Bunjan F.M. en Bedtford. The "Lecteur ami" comprises fourteen pages. In it he describes

"The author of this book, Mr John Bunyan, is at this time an upright and faithful minister at Bedford in England—a man of unexampled piety and devotion, such a one as Demetrius of whom John speaks in his 3rd Epistle and 12th verse. Every one bears witness that in this little volume and in his other works appear a manifest and peculiar wisdom, very great experience, and a penetrating sight into spiritual things. The design of our author is simply to present *a penitent soul seeking God on his journey towards Eternity.* How he turns from his former state of perdition, leaves his home, and sets his steps towards the Jerusalem on high—his adventures by the way—his view of those that choose for themselves by-paths that lead to hell—we doubt not but that some in turning over these leaves will read their own experience ingeniously drawn out, and their own portrait placed before their eyes, as if they saw themselves in a glass. The Christian traveller, the true citizen of Zion, is skilfully portrayed to the life. If a hypocritical professor should have his eyes illuminated he will here see himself under another name than that of Christian—his foolish imaginations overthrown—his hopes perish, and all his expectations swept away like a cobweb. If any one judge that this mode of writing is not sufficiently solemn for such spiritual matters, and doubt the propriety of representing them as a dream and under such images, they should recollect that our author was unintentionally led to this manner of writing, and found himself very much embarrassed as to the propriety of publishing it to the world; and did not venture to print it until persuaded by many learned and pious men. Our Bunyan wrote allegorically, in the hopes that divine truth might reach the very depths of the heart. Many great theologians have treated the most important truths in the same figurative manner, following the footsteps of our great and sovereign Rabbi Jesus Christ, who taught by similitudes, as also the prophets were constrained by the Holy Spirit to speak. Oh that our readers may find themselves to be true citizens of Zion, with their feet in the Royal Highway, that they may be fortified, consoled, and instructed, and if convinced of backsliding may return to the paths of peace to love King Jesus the Lord of the Hill. And may many take our Christian by the skirt of his robe and say we will go with thee. May it arrest the attention of the Flemings as it has that of the English, among whom in a very few years it has been printed many times."

This interesting preface, which we have somewhat abridged, ends with a quotation from Acts xx. 32.

Bunyan's language is so purely English, his style so colloquial, his names and titles so full of meaning, that it must have been a most difficult book to translate. This is seen on turning to the fifth question put by Prudence, on the pilgrim's arrival at the Palace Beautiful.[4]

"Pru. Et qui est ce, je te prie, que te rend si désireux de la montagne de Sion?

"Chres. Quoy, demandes tu cela? O mon Dieu! comme le cerf brâme apres le décours des eaux fraisches, ainsi mon ceur[5] désire apres toy le Dieu, le Grand Dieu vivant. C'est là où j'attends de voir en vie celuy que je vis autrefois mort, et pendu sur la croix; c'est là où j'espère d'être unefois déchargé de toutes ces choses, qui me causent tant de peine, tant de douleur, tant de dommage, & m'en ont causé jusques à ce jour icy; c'est là, a ce qu'on ma dit, qu'il n'y aura plus de mort; c'est là où je jouiray d'une compagnie, a laquelle je prendray le plus grand plaisir. Car, pour te dire la vérité, je l'aime; voire.

"Je t'aimeray en toute obeissance.
Tante que vivray, O mon Dieu, ma puissance.

Je dis, je l'aime, à cause qu'il a illuminé les yeux obscurcis de mon entendement par une lumière divine, procedée des rayons du soleil de sa grace, lumière qui m'a servi de guide pour me conduire en ce chemin; mais aussi je l'aime, pource qu'il ma déchargé de mon fardeau: & je me trouve las a cause de mon mal intérieur; ah que mon ceur soupire apres ce lieu, où je serai delivré de mourir; après cette compagnie, où l'on chantera à jamais, saint, saint, saint, est l'Eternal des armées."

This answer in English is one hundred and two words; in French extending to two hundred and twenty.

The Slough of Despond is called Le Bourbier Mésfiance; Worldly-Wiseman, Sage Mondain; Faithful, Loyal; Talkative, Grand Jaseur; Pickthank, Flatteur; My Old Lord Letchery, Mon vieux Seigneur Assez Bon; No-good, Vautrien; Live-loose, Vivant Mort; Hate-light, Grand Haineux; Bye-ends, Autrefin. The poetry would have seriously puzzled the worthy translator, but instead of attempting it, he supplies its place from French psalms or hymns. The copper-plates are rather fine specimens of drawing and engraving. Sweeping the room at the Interpreter's house, and Attempting to awake the Sleepers on the Enchanted Ground, are new designs.[6]

There is a copy in the British Museum somewhat modern-

[4] See p. 56.

[5] Uniformly spelt in this book, ceur.

[6] A fine copy is in the library of S. J. Button, Esq., Racquet-court, Fleet-street.

ized, Rotterdam, 1722;[7] and a very handsome edition with plates by an eminent Dutch engraver, printed at Rotterdam, 1757;[8] and one with wood cuts, 12mo, Basle, 1728,[9] &c. &c. There are French Protestant translations; and in addition to these, there have been many editions of a Roman Catholic translation into French. This is greatly abridged, and of course Giant Pope is omitted; and so is the remark about Peter being afraid of a sorry girl. They are very neat pocket volumes, printed in Paris, 1783; at Rouen, 1821, &c. &c. Entitled, "Le Pélérinage D'un Nommé Chrétien Traduit de L'Anglois." In the preface the Roman Catholic translator calls the English nation, "judicieuse et eclairée." The editor bought a copy of this book in a convent in France. The lady-abbess assured him that it was a most excellent work to promote piety and virtue! A sentence which first led him to the discovery that the old lady had a remarkably sweet voice.

Dr. Cheever accounts thus for the extensive popularity of our Pilgrim:

> "It is a piece of rich tapestry, in which, with the word of God before him as his original and guide, and with all these heavenly materials tinged in the deep feelings of his own converted heart, he wove into one beautiful picture the spiritual scenery and thrilling events of his own journey as a Christian pilgrim. It is all fresh and graphic from his own experience, vivid with real life, freshly portrayed from the word of God; nor can you tell that Bunyan was of any sect, save that he was a living member of the church of Christ."

Not only has this work afforded the deepest interest to the painter; but it has also excited the poet to sing his pilgrim's adventures, both in rhyme and blank verse. The ornamental embellishments were at first good wood-cuts for a chap book,[1] faithful copies of which will be found in this edition; these dwindled down in succeeding editions to the cheapest and most contemptible cuts that can be conceived. The worst of these is in an edition of the Pilgrim's Progress, by a name-

[7] 1113. b.

[8] In possession of Mr. Thornton, the Cottage, Clapham Common.

[9] Rodd's Catalogue, 1835.

[1] Books sold by hawkers.

sake of the author, Mr. D. Bunyan. The next series were the copper-plates to Sturt's edition; fine impressions of these designs are found four on a page in the first complete edition of Bunyan's works, 1737. Since then many beautiful sets of engravings have been published in the editions by Heptinstall and Scott, between 1788 and 1793,—a series of sixteen elegant designs by Stothard, engraved by Strut.[3] These were reduced, and published in 4to, with Sonnets by George Townsend, *Prebendary of Durham.* Thus at length we find that Bishop Bunyan keeps company with other dignitaries. Twenty-four original outlines were published by Mrs. Mackenzie; and a set of very beautiful engravings, with a valuable letter-press accompaniment by J. Conder. The edition by Southey is elegantly illustrated. The Art Union has favoured the public with a series of illustrations in oblong folio, some of which would probably puzzle even the keen penetrating eye of Bunyan to discover what work they were intended to illustrate.[4] A more serious defect is observable in this oblong edition, on page 47. Bunyan's terms are considered as too vulgar, and two of his words are exchanged for the more polite term of "harlot;" while on the corner of page 36 a disgustingly indecent cut is exhibited!

The earliest poetical attempts to promote the circulation of the Pilgrim, is of the first part, done into verse by Francis Hoffman, printed by R. Tookey, 1706. Not only is the prose versified, but he has, according to his taste, versified Bunyan's verse. Thus the long controversy as to the propriety of publishing the work in Hoffman's verses, is:

> "One Part said Print it, others it decry'd,
> Some said it would do good, which some deny'd:
> I seeing them divided to Extreams,
> Could from them hope no Favour but the Flames;
> Resolving since Two Parties could not do't,
> Being Third my-self, to give the casting Vote
> And have it printed."

[3] Sturt and Strut were men of a different era.

[4] The meeting of Christian and Faithful, one of them with a crucifix; the Destruction of Bye-ends, &c. &c.

It has a smart hit at occasional conformity. Thus Apollyon says:

> "'Tis with professors now in Fashion grown,
> T'espouse his cause a while to serve their own
> Come, with me go occasionally back,
> Rather than a preferment lose, or lack."[3]

Judging from these and other specimens, it is not surprising that the work was never re-published. It has some wood-cuts, and is very rare.[4] Many attempts have been made to render Bunyan's Pilgrim a popular work in poetry, but all have failed. The most respectable is by J. S. Dodd, M.D., 8vo, Dublin, 1795. This is in blank verse, and with good engravings; it has also an index and all the passages of Scripture given at length,—not only those that are directly referred to, but also a number of others which might have suggested ideas to the author that he embodied in his work. The notes are well written and short: they were reprinted without acknowledgment in an edition of the Pilgrim, in three parts, published by Macgowan, London, 1822.

George Burder, the well-known author of the Village Sermons, published in 1804 Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, part the first, versified, which passed through several large editions, and was much used in Sunday Schools: it has wood-cuts. A very handsome edition of this has been lately published by Messrs. Bagsters, the celebrated printers of correct Bibles. It has also the Second Part, by the author of Scripture Truths in Verse, and is profusely ornamented with wood-cuts. T. Dibdin also published Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, metrically condensed in six cantos. This embraces only the first part. The author claims having kept the simplicity of the original, and a rigid observance of every doctrine enforcing the certainty of the only one road to safety and salvation.[5] The late Isaac Taylor, of Ongar, published Bunyan Explained to a Child, being Pictures and Poems founded

[3] Page 60.

[4] A perfect copy in the library of W. B. Gurney, Esq.; and another in the library of Lord Ashburnham. It is referred to by Mr. Southey, p. xcvii.

[5] Post 8vo, Harding and King, 1834.

upon the Pilgrim's Progress; two very neat and interesting little volumes, each containing fifty cuts.[6]

Dr. Adam Clarke considered that our Pilgrim might be more read by a certain class if published as an epic poem.

"The whole body of the dialogue and description might be preserved perfect and entire; and the task would not be difficult, as the work has the complete form of an epic poem, the versification alone excepted. But a poet, and a poet only, can do this work, and such a poet too as is experimentally acquainted with the work of God on his own soul. I subscribe to the opinion of Mr. Addison, that had J. Bunyan lived in the time of the primitive fathers, he would have been as great a father as any of them."[7]

A lady who wrote under the initials, C. C. V. G., has recently made the attempt, and she does not appear to have been aware that Dr. Dodd had gone over the same ground. It is a highly respectable production, divided into six cantos, but includes only the first part.

The Pilgrim's Progress Versified. By the Rev. W. E. Hume, B.A. 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. 1844-5.

In this poetic attempt each part is divided into six cantos. At the first glance, it appeared more like a parody than a serious effort to convey the sense; but the author appears to be in earnest. A very few lines will show the poetic talent which is displayed. The pilgrim about to start:

> "Trembling he was, and tears I well could track,
> Till broke he forth, and cried, 'What shall I do alack!'"

On Ignorance arriving at the gates of the Celestial City:

> "They told the King, but down he would not run."

The first part ends thus:

> "The way to hell, from gate of heaven was there
> E'en as from Ruin's town. I woke—had dream'd declare."

A Free Poetic Version of the First Part of the Pilgrim's Progress. In ten books. By J. B. Drayton. With a Memoir, and Notes selected and abridged from the Rev. T. Scott. 12mo, Cheltenham. No date.

This first appeared under the title of "Poetic Sketches from Bunyan," fcp. 8vo, 1821. "To tempt those who slight the original as a coarse and illiterate produc-

[6] Post 8vo, London, 1835.

[7] Postscript to a Life of Bunyan, 1844.

tion to give it a perusal, and they will find that its merits are of the highest order —conceived in the true spirit of poetry—like a rude but luxuriant wilderness." The Christian's burden is called "a sordid pest." His description of the Interpreter will give an idea of Mr. Drayton's style :

"Meek was his mien
Yet fiery keen
The ordeal inquest of his eye,
And blent with hoary majesty
A stately wand he bore ;
But, ere he taught his mystic lore,
He asked the Pilgrim's late abode,
His errand, and his destined road."

When Christian met the men running from the Valley of the Shadow of Death, his inquiry is anything but poetic—"Hold! What's the damage?"

Little interest has been excited by these endeavours to versify the Pilgrim. All the attempts to improve Bunyan are miserable failures: it is like holding up a rushlight to increase the beauty of the moon when in its full radiance. His fine old vernacular colloquial English may be modernized and spoiled, but cannot be improved. The expression used to denote how hard the last lock in Doubting Castle "went," may grate upon a polite ear, but it has a deep meaning that should warn us of entering bye-path meadows.

Bunyan's poetry interspersed throughout the Pilgrim's Progress, displays the perpetual bent of the writer's mind. No show, no attempt at parade, all his object is to fix truth upon the conscience; and some of his homely rhymes ought never to be forgotten. The impression made in childhood "sticks like burs." Who that once read the lay of the Shepherd's boy, ever forgot the useful lesson?

"He that is down need fear no fall,
He that is low no pride,
He that is humble ever shall
Have God to be his guide."

Even Mr. Philip, who in 1845 said "no one reads his rhymes now,"[1] thought in 1839, "that some of Bunyan's poetry rises to an awful sublimity!"[2] Many believe this, and will read them still, without the fear of being classed with these no ones.

[1] Critique, xvi.

[2] Life and Times, 336.

Mr. Burder, of Coventry, divided the Pilgrim's Progress, part 1 in 20, and part 2 into 15 chapters, with short notes at the end of each;[1] it has been several times re-published; but this innovation was not well received.

Numerous have been the editions with notes, to illustrate the author's meaning, by men of some eminence; but Montgomery's beautiful description at once shows, that doctrinally or experimentally considered, they are not needed. "Bunyan's allegory is so perfect, that, like the light, whilst revealing through its colourless and undistorting medium every object, yet is itself concealed."

The attempts of Mason, Burder, Scott and others, to explain the spiritual meaning of such a writer, may meet the reproof contained in the following anecdote: "A late eminent and venerated clergyman, published an edition of Bunyan's Pilgrim, which he accompanied with expository notes. A copy of this work he benevolently presented to one of his poor parishioners. Some time afterwards, the poor man was met by the clergyman, who inquired, 'Well, have you read the Pilgrim's Progress?' the reply was, 'Yes, sir.' It was further asked, 'Do you think you understand it?' 'Oh, yes, sir,' was the answer, with this somewhat unexpected addition, 'And I hope before long I shall understand the notes!'"[2]

A strange attempt was made by Joshua Gilpin, rector of Wrockwardine, Shropshire, to fit Bunyan with a modern and fashionable suit of clothes, and under the tuition of a *petit maitre*, train him for elegant drawing-room company. How odd an idea to dress Bunyan *à-la-mode*, place him in an elegant party, chill him with ices, and torment his soul with the badinage of a Mrs. Perkins's Ball. Mr. Gilpin complains that the Pilgrim's defects are conspicuous and offensive, but gives no specimens of them. Instead of Faithful telling Christian the common feeling against Pliable, in plain English, "O, they say, hang him, he is a turn-coat; he was not true to his profession;" Mr. Gilpin prefers, "They tauntingly

[1] Brit. Mus. 113. b.; editor's library. [2] Pritchard's Life of Ivimey, p. 139.

the aid of some church wealth and influence, to have pushed this book into circulation; it is now nearly forgotten.[6]

The Sojourn of a Sceptic in the Land of Darkness, to the City of Strongholds, in the Similitude of a Dream. Edinburgh, 1847.

The prose and poetry in this volume are equally contemptible:

"Who follow lies they love (that walk or crawl)
A lie at last to ruin may pursue;
Who swallow greasy *camels*, hump and all
A *gnat* may scandalize, and strangle too?"[7]

This is one of those books, which, in the words of Porson, "will be read when Homer and Virgil are forgotten, but—not till then."

THE OPINIONS OF THE LEARNED UPON THE MERITS OF THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS, AND THE CAUSES OF ITS POPULARITY.

To venerate the memory of Bunyan, is the duty of every British Christian; quite as much as it is the pride of Englishmen universally to admire the genius of Shakespeare or of Milton, the philosophy of Locke, or the philanthrophy of Howard. He ought ever to be placed in that constellation which is composed of the brightest luminaries that shed a lustre upon our national literature. His Allegory seizes our imaginations in childhood, and leaves an indelible impression—it excited our wonder then, and our admiration and esteem in riper age. Thus one of our best poets describes the

"Pleasure derived in childhood approved in age."

Cowper's apostrophe to Bunyan:

"Oh thou, whom, borne on fancy's eager wing
Back to the season of life's happy spring,
I pleased remember, and while memory yet
Holds fast her office here, can ne'er forget:

[6] In the Editor's Library.

[7] Page 113.

Ingenious Dreamer! in whose well-told tale
Sweet fiction and sweet truth alike prevail;
Whose humorous vein, strong sense, and simple style,
May teach the gayest, make the gravest smile;
Witty, and well employed, and like thy Lord,
Speaking in parables his slighted word;
I name thee not, lest so despised a name
Should move a sneer at thy deserved fame.
Yet e'en in transitory life's late day,
That mingles all my brown with sober grey,
Revere the man, whose Pilgrim marks the road,
And guides the Progress of the soul to God:
'Twere well with most, if books that could engage
Their childhood, pleased them at a riper age;
The man, approving what had charmed the boy,
Would die at last in comfort, peace, and joy."

The influence the Pilgrim's Progress had upon a late learned and zealous divine, is well described in the autobiography of the celebrated Dr. Adam Clarke.

A child's view of the Pilgrim's Progress:

"At this early age he read the Pilgrim's Progress, as he would read a book of chivalry. Christian was the great hero, by whom the most appalling difficulties were surmounted, the most incredible labours performed, powerful enchantments dissolved, giants conquered, and devils quelled. It was not likely that he would see it as a *spiritual allegory*, and therefore it was no wonder that he could not comprehend how Christian and Hopeful could submit to live several days and nights in the dungeon of Doubting Castle, under the torture of Giant Despair, while the former 'had a key in his bosom which could open every lock in that castle.'"

Lord Kaimes, who did not in the slightest degree partake with Bunyan in his feelings of veneration for Christianity, admires the Pilgrim's Progress, as being composed in a style enlivened like that of Homer, by a proper mixture of the dramatic and narrative.

Mr. Grainger, who was of the high church party, in his Biographical History of England, calls it "Bunyan's masterpiece; one of the most popular, and I will add one of the most ingenious books in the English language."

Dr. S. Johnson, that unwieldly and uncouth leviathan of English literature, who was so thorough-bred a churchman as to starve himself on a crossed bun on Good Friday, and to

say, that he was not true to his profession." And as to the unfashionably pointed remarks by the Intrepreter, that a Christian profession, without regeneration, is like a tree whose leaves are fair, but their heart good for nothing, but to be *tinder* for the devil's *tinder box.*[1] This is too bad to be mended, and is therefore struck out altogether. The public did not encourage Mr. Gilpin's metamorphoses, and the book is forgotten?[2]

It would be impossible to enumerate all the attempts which have been made to copy Bunyan's Allegory. A few of them deserve notice. One of these was an impudent forgery. It was under the title of the Progress of the Pilgrim, in two parts, written by way of Dream, adorned with several new pictures. Hos. xii. 10. *I have used similitudes.* London, by J. Blare, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge, 1705. In this, which is published as an original work, Evangelist is called Good-news; Worldly Wiseman, Mr. Politic Worldly; Legality, Mr. Law-do; The Interpreter, Director; The Palace Beautiful, Grace's Hall; Giant Desperation of Diffident Castle; Mr. Despondency and his daughter Much-afraid, are called, One Much-cast-down and his kinsman Almost Overcome. Whoever was employed in stealing this literary property, and disguising the stolen goods, appears to have been a Roman Catholic; he omits Giant Pope, and Faithful called Fidelius is hanged, drawn, and quartered, that being the punishment inflicted on the Roman Catholics, by Elizabeth and James I.

The Spanish Pilgrim; or an admirable discovery of a Romish Catholic.[3]

A tract to show the easiest way to invade Spain.

The Pilgrim; or a Picture of Life, by a Chinese Philosopher, 2 vols. by Johnston.[4]

A caricature, exhibiting English manners, in the reign of George III., through a distorted medium.

[1] Page 245.
[2] 8vo. 1811, Brit. Mus. 1113. c. 13.
[3] Brit. Mus. 1103. e.
[4] King's Library, Brit. Mus. 245. f. 7.

Since then, the public have been supplied with an Original Pilgrim, by Desiderius, 1717. The Pilgrims Progress, from Quakerism to Christianity, by F. Bugg, 4to, 1698. The New Pilgrims'; or, the Pious Indian Convert, 1748.

Shrubsole's Christian Memoirs; or, New Pilgrimage to the Heavenly Jerusalem. 1777; republished 1799, and in 1807.

This was supposed to contain allusions to certain persons of some note, and was for a time a popular book.

The Female Pilgrim; or the travels of Hephzibah, a description of her Native Country, with the State of the Inhabitants thereof. By John Mitchell.

This contains some account of the religious state of this country, in the latter end of the reign of George III.; it has plates, and passed through several editions. The author states that he has not been influenced by malice to those persons whose characters he has drawn as odious!

The Progress of the Pilgrim, Good Intent, in Jacobinical Times, by Miss Anne Burgess, of the Vale of Honiton.

This was, for a time, very popular, and went through many editions; it arose out of the French Revolution, and was intended to counteract republican principle, and free inquiries into practices called religious. It has some witty passages, and a tender attachment to the Crown and Mitre. It represents philosophy as having for its father, Lucifer; and its mother Nonsense![1] That the mitre assumes no control. Lawful, government and church establishments are venerable, and to be admired and supported; that the rights of man teach plunder and robbery; that those who oppose the church, as by law established, seek to promote atheism. The authoress invents a She Devil, called Mental Energy, who invites men to destruction, by thinking for themselves. It must have required

[1] Page 63.

Before taking a walk with the pilgrims, to point out a few peculiarities not noticed by commentators, it may be well to answer the inquiry so often made—Is the narrative that of the author's and his wife's own experience? My humble opinion is that he did not so intend it. His first wife had been for years an inhabitant of the Celestial City, and his second was a decided Christian, long before his Pilgrim was written. At the pillar to commemorate Lot's wife, Hopeful calls to Christian, "for he was learned," a title, so far as lettered lore was concerned, Bunyan could not have given to himself, nor would *he* have applied it as to his own spiritual knowledge. In other places he is called "good Christian;" the appellation "good," he would not have given to himself. It appears not to be intended to portray the experience of any one man or woman, but the feelings, doubts, conflicts, enjoyments of the Christian character. The whole household of faith embodied and described from the sacred pages, enlarged by his own experience, and that which he discovered in his Christian intercourse; from the first fearful cry, "What shall I do to be saved?" until the crown of glory and immortality is put upon his head with the anthem, "It is finished," "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord."

The object of the Society, for the members of which this volume is published, is to give the text in all its integrity without gloss or comment, leaving it to every member to add his own notes, and apply the characters so admirably drawn as he may, in the judgment of charity, feel inclined; still a few illustrations from authors, with whose works Bunyan was probably familiar, may prove amusing and instructive.

One of his commentators has made a discovery which will certainly startle our readers; he has found a proof and an illustration of the practice of christening infants, in the pages of the Pilgrim's Progress. This shows how singularly the mind becomes habituated to Jesuitical and far-fetched arguments to maintain a popish custom, which can neither be supported by scripture nor reason. It is in an edition with

notes by Mr. St. John, and a key by H. Wood.[1] In the index there appears the following sentiments under the word—

"Baptism. The ordinance of to be observed, and the advantage that children are thereby made partakers, who are thus early admitted into the visible church of Christ. Christian's sons having been married, and their olive branches were springing up, when Christiana and her troop of children and grandchildren had passed the hill Lucre, and arrived at the green meadows. Here they find a house is built for the nourishing and bringing up those *lambs*, the babes of those women that go on pilgrimage."

The annotator seizes an opportunity from this parental anxiety to "train up a child in the way he should go," to introduce Bunyan as an authority for baby baptism, as if parental anxiety for the Christian training of his family was connected in any manner whatever with throwing a few drops of water on a baby's face, or with a wet finger crossing its forehead, and then the wet being wiped off again!! It reminds me of a sectarian clergyman who in a sermon in South Hackney parish church,[2] on those words "train up a child," gravely told his hearers that Solomon meant, train up a child in the Church of England!! and in no other way.

But to return to our Pilgrim; a charge has been made against the arrangement of the story, because the converts in the town of Vanity are not described as having entered the way by the Wicket gate. They witness the patient endurance of sufferings in Faithful, and are led to feel that there must be some solemn realities in religion to which they were strangers; we have no account of their feelings nor misery; their Slough of Despond, or entering the wicket gate, or relief on the sight of Christ crucified, for all this has been already told in Christian's experience. The lovely inmates in the Palace Beautiful, descriptive of the temper which every member of a Christian church ought to cultivate, are left there as if they went no farther towards Zion. Christian's journey does not appear to occupy the time taken to perform the same distance by Christiana. These and many other

[1] Published by Rickerby, Sherborne Lane, 1838

[2] And afterwards published.

revel in roast beef and good cheer the day dedicated to Christ's mass; who was so well taught in the established church as to pray for his wife "Tetty," thirty years after her decease; yet, even he, with his deep-rooted prejudices against dissenters, cannot withhold his meed of praise, and describes the Pilgrim's Progress as "a work of original genius, and one of the very few books which every reader wishes had been longer."[1]

"Johnson praised John Bunyan highly: his Pilgrim's Progress has great merit, both for invention, imagination, and the conduct of the story; and it has had the best evidence of its merit, the general and continued approbation of mankind. Few books, I believe, have had a more extensive sale. It is remarkable, that it begins very much like Dante; yet there was no translation of Dante when he wrote. There is reason to think that he had read Spencer."[2]

A deeply read, learned, and highly esteemed clergyman told me that when he was young, placed under peculiar circumstances,[3] he read the Pilgrim's Progress many times; for when he arrived at the "Conclusion," he never thought of changing his book, but turning to the first page, started again with poor Christian, and never felt weary of his company.

Dr. Franklin, whose sound judgment renders his opinion peculiarly gratifying, in his praise of the Pilgrim's Progress, comes home to the feelings of all who have read this universally admired book:

"Honest John Bunyan is the first I know of, who has mingled narrative and dialogue together, a mode of writing very engaging to the reader, who in the most interesting passages finds himself admitted as it were into the company and present at the conversation. Defoe and Richardson have imitated him with success."[4]

Toplady speaks with the warmth of a Christian, who not only *admired*, but *understood* and felt its important truths:

"The Pilgrim's Progress is the finest allegorical work extant: describing every stage of a Christian's experience, from conversion to glorification, in the most artless simplicity of language; yet peculiarly rich with spiritual unction, and glowing with the most vivid, just, and well-conducted machinery throughout. It is, in short, a master-piece of piety and genius; and will, we doubt not, be of standing use to the people of God, so long as the sun and moon endure."

[1] Mrs. Piozzi's Anecdotes.

[2] Boswell's Life of Johnson, 8vo. vol. 2, p. 219.

[3] At church, obliged to sit still, while a dull parson read equally dull sermons.

[4] Private Life of Franklin.

Dr. Ryland's opinion was that

"As a popular practical writer, on a great variety of important subjects for the use of the bulk of common Christians, I will dare to affirm that he has few equals in the Christian world. I am persuaded there never has been a writer in the English language whose works have spread so wide, and have been read by so many millions of people as Mr. Bunyan's."

The Great French Biography, (Roman Catholic,) having alluded to his employment in prison, adds:

"Mais il y écrivit aussi son *fameux* Voyage du Pélerin, allégorie religieuse parfaitement soutenue, qui a eu cinquante éditions, et a été traduite en plusieurs langues."[1]

The Pilgrim's Progress has proved an invaluable aid to the Sunday School Teacher, and to the Missionary. One of the latter wrote home with joy to inform his Christian friends, that a Malay sat up three nights to read it, never having before seen so beautiful a book, and praying that the Holy Spirit may influence his countrymen to read, and also enlighten their hearts to understand the wondrous dream. The Pundit who was engaged to translate it into Singhalese, was so deeply affected by the story, that, at times, he could not proceed; when he had passed the wicket-gate, and Christian's burden fell from his shoulders, at the sight of Christ crucified, he was overcome with joy—he laughed, wept, clapped his hands, danced, and shouted, "delightful, delightful!" It was especially blessed to the persecuted Christian natives in Ceylon; in their distress when driven from home, in places of danger, they encouraged each other by repeating portions of scripture, and the vivid delineations of perseverance and triumph from the Pilgrim's Progress.

No book, the result of human labour and ingenuity, has been so eminently useful. Let Homer have the credit of his lofty poem; Plato of his Philosophy; Cicero of his elegancies, and Aquinas of his subtilties; but for real value, as connected with human happiness, our unlettered mechanic rises infinitely their superior.

[1] 8vo. Paris, 1810, t. 3. p. 412.

apparent discrepancies are essential to the author's design, because he represents it all under the similitude of a DREAM. The following quotations clearly indicate some changes of importance interfering with Christian Liberty between the writing of the first part in prison before 1673, and the publication of the second part in 1684. When Christiana came to the Slough of Despond,

"She perceived also, that notwithstanding the command of the king to make this place for pilgrims good, yet it was rather worse than formerly. For that many there be that pretend to be the king's labourers; and that say they are for mending the king's highway, that being *dirt and dung* instead of stones, and so mar instead of mending."[2]

Before the Pilgrims attempted to ascend the Hill Difficulty, they sought for some refreshment, and Great Heart said—

"This is the spring that Christian drank of, before he went up this hill; and *then* 'twas clear, and good; but *now* 'tis dirty with the feet of some that were not desirous that pilgrims here should quench their thirst."[3]

The two lions in the way to frighten the young inquirer from making a public profession at the Palace Beautiful, may represent the civil and ecclesiastical powers when assuming the throne of God to judge and compel men as to forms of divine worship. Their effort was to prevent further inquiries, and thus turn the pilgrims back to the City of Destruction; they are chained to show that these devils are under divine control, and can only hurt such as they *may* devour. A cessation or temporary relief from persecution, puts them to sleep as Faithful passes; and a recollection of the misery and cruelties they had so recently perpetrated, raises Giant Grim to back them, and terrify Christiana, Mercy, and the children. The effects of this cruel persecution of the saints, thinned the number of professors.

"Now to say the truth this way had of late lain much unoccupied, and was almost all grown over with grass."[4]

Their fears are at that time dissipated by Great Heart the guide, who slays the Giant.

[2] Page 226. [3] Page 258. [4] Page 263.

While Christiana and her company rest at the town of Vanity,

"There came a *Monster* out of the woods, and slew many of the people of the town. It would also carry away their children, and teach them to suck its whelps. Now no man in the town durst so much as face this *Monster;* but all men fled when they heard the noise of his coming. This monster propounded conditions to men, and such men as loved their lives more than their souls, accepted those conditions. So they came under."[5]

From all this it is obvious, that between the time when Bunyan wrote the first part, and the publication of the second, some painful events had taken place, interfering with a Christian profession. Those iniquitous laws, called the Five Mile and the Conventicle Acts, were passed in the 16th, 17th and 22nd, Car. II.; the first of these imposed ruinous fines, imprisonment, and death, upon all persons above sixteen years of age, who attended divine service where the Liturgy, the compulsive use of which had proved an awful curse and scourge to the kingdom, was not read. The second ordained that no nonconformist minister should live within five miles of any town. Bunyan did *inhabit* and *live* in Bedford by compulsion, but he was not proceeded against, although it would have been as just as was the conduct of the Recorder of London on the trial of Penn, for holding a conventicle; for he ordered an officer of the court to put Penn's hat on his head, and then fined Penn for having it on!! The third of these Acts was to suppress all meetings for worship among the nonconformists; these were passed in 1665, 1666, and 1671, and in a short time made the frightful desolations to which we have before referred; so that the first part must have been written before 1666 or 1667, when these abominable laws were enforced, and the second part after their effects had been seen and felt. That these horrid laws were obtained and put in force by the clergy, urged on by the bishops, we have melancholy proof. Even all publicans attending any conventicle, had their licences taken from them.[6] In the Diocese of Salisbury not

[5] Page 330.

[6] See Harris's Life of Charles II., vol. ii. p. 106, &c.

one dissenting meeting was left. On the 11th of October, 1666, an order was issued that in Scotland all leases and rents should be void as to those who did not attend the parish church. Any person holding a conventicle was fined five thousand marks; and at length the king ordered military execution in that kingdom upon all nonconformists, without process or conviction.[3] The saints of those days comforted one another with a proverb:—"It is better that the body should die to this world by the lions without, than that body and soul should die eternally by our lusts within."[4] Interference with the education of the children of dissenters, was under the 14 Car. II., which enacts, "that no person shall teach any children, whether in a private family or in a school, unless licensed by his diocesan, and all were to be taught according to the book of Common Prayer," or ruinous fines and imprisonments were enforced. Thus the Slough of Despond became more foul; the spring of water became muddy; the lions so thinned the number of pilgrims that the grass grew upon the road, and the monster was very rampant. He who feels no indignation when listening to such enormous crimes perpetrated by wicked laws, has the despicable spirit of a slave. Nothing but the voice of the Saviour commanding us to forgive his and our enemies, could prevent us leading our children to the altar of our God to swear eternal enmity against a system founded on tyranny, and producing as its effects all the abominations of desolation.

The man in the iron cage[4] at the Interpreter's house, has been supposed to represent an apostate, one John Child, probably personally known to Bunyan. He had been a baptist minister, and was born at Bedford in 1638, but, for fear of persecution, had conformed to the Church of England, and was afterwards terrified with awful compunctions of conscience; he was visited by Mr. Keach, Mr. Collins, and a Mr. B. (probably Bunyan.) When pressed to return to the fold of Christ, he said—"If ever I am taken at a meeting,

[3] Page 33.

[4] Harris's Charles II., vol. ii. p. 120.

they will have no mercy on me, and triumph, *This is the man that made his recantation;* and then ruin me to all intents and purposes, and I cannot bear the thought of a cross nor a prison. I had a fancy, the other morning, that the sheriff's officers were coming to seize all that I had." His cries were awful. "*I shall go to hell; I am broken in judgment; when I think to pray, either I have a flushing in my face, as if it were in a flame, or I am dumb and cannot speak.*" In a fit of desperation he destroyed himself on the 15th October, 1684. This was one of the innumerable unholy triumphs of the state in its interference with religion.[4]

Christian's sleeping in the arbour,[5] as well as the emblem of the muck-rake[6] seen in the Interpreter's house, is illustrated by Quarle in his Emblems:

> "Well, sleep thy fill, and take thy soft reposes;
> But know, withal, sweet tastes have sour closes;
> And he repents in thorns, that sleeps in beds of roses."[7]

And on an avaricious muck-rake:

> "The vulture of insatiate minds
> Still wants, and wanting seeks, and seeking finds,
> New fuel to increase her rav'nous fire."[8]

The warning given by Evangelist to the pilgrims,[9] that persecution awaited them, might have been drawn from the affectionately faithful conduct of Mr. Gifford, Bunyan's pastor, in encouraging him to preach in the villages at the risk of imprisonment, and even of death.

The trial at Vanity Fair is an almost unconscious operation of quiet but keen satire upon the trials which took place at the time, sanctioned by all the formalities of law: "they brought them forth to their trial *in order* to their condemnation."

Every dissenter should read the trial of William Penn

[4] Relation of the Life and Death of John Child, 1734.
[5] Page 44.
[6] Page 240.
[7] Book i.—vii.
[8] Book ii.—ii.
[9] Page 99.

and William Mead, which took place in August, 1670.[4] They were indicted for preaching in Gracechurch Street, the police and military having taken possession of the Friends' meeting-house there. The jury refused to find Mead guilty, when the judge addressed them—"Gentlemen, you shall not be dismissed till we have a verdict that the court will accept; and you shall be locked up without meat, drink, fire, and tobacco: you shall not thus think to abuse the court; we will have a verdict, by the help of God, or you shall starve for it." They requested an essential accommodation, but it was peremptorily denied. Having been locked up all night, on the following morning, when the court was opened, the jury again persisted in finding Mead not guilty; and the foreman said, "We have agreed according to our consciences." The lord mayor replied, "That conscience of yours would cut my throat;" he answered, "No, my lord, it never shall:" when the lord mayor said, "But I will cut yours so soon as I can." Again they were locked up until the evening; they then kept to their verdict, when the lord mayor threatened to cut the foreman's nose. Penn said, "It is intolerable that my jury should be thus menaced," when the mayor cried out, "Stop his mouth; jailor, bring fetters, and stake him to the ground." Penn replied calmly, "Do your pleasure; I matter not your fetters:" and the recorder thus addressed the jury, "I say you shall go together, and bring in another verdict, or you shall starve." A second night they were locked up without food or accommodation; on the third morning these true born Englishmen again brought in their verdict NOT GUILTY, and for this the jury were sent as prisoners to Newgate!!! Their names were, Thomas Veer, Edward Bushell, John Hammond, Henry Henley, Henry Michel, John Brightman, Charles Milson, Gregory Walklet, John Baily, William Lever, James Damask, and Wil Plumsted—names that ought to be printed in gold, and exhibited in the house of every nonconformist, and sculptured in marble to ornament our new House of Commons.

[4] State Trials; and also published at the time, price twopence.

The effects of persecution for refusing to obey man when he usurped the throne of God, hastened an approaching era. England shuddered; dissenters increased; and eventually the king saved his contemptible head by the quickness of his heels. Toleration succeeded persecution, and it is now time that freedom should take the place of toleration, and the liberties of Englishmen be freed from the polluted touch of any hierarchy.

The difference between the time when the first part of the Pilgrim's Progress was written, and the second printed, appears very strikingly in the state of the town of Vanity. "In those days we were afraid to walk the streets, but *now* we can show our heads. *Then* the name of a professer was odious, *now* specially in some parts of our town, religion is counted honourable." [6]

The surprising difference between *then* and *now* can only be accounted for by the Declaration for liberty of conscience made in 1672, while the author was in prison, proving by strong circumstantial evidence that the first part was written before 1672, the second having been written before 1684, and even then the nonconformist ministers were called "kidnappers;" [7] and very soon after this, persecution again lifted up her accursed head.

How keenly does Christian unravel the subtilties of Bye-Ends and his company. Bunyan was awfully but justly severe against hypocrisy upon such as named the name of Christ, and did not depart from iniquity. In his "Holy Life, the Beauty of Christianity," he thus addresses such characters: "Christ calls them hypocrites, whited-walls, painted sepulchres, fools and blind. This is the man that hath the breath of a dragon; he poisons the air round about him. This is the man that slays his children, his kinsmen, his friend, and himself; that offends his little ones. Oh! the millstone that God will shortly hang about your neck, when the time is come that you must be drowned in the sea and deluge of God's wrath." [8]

[6] Page 327. [7] Page 292, margin. [8] Bunyan's Works, 8vo, pp. 1391, 1392.

When By-Ends would have joined the Pilgrim's company, Christian was decided: "Not a step farther, unless you will own religion in his rags as well as when in his silver slippers, and stand by him too when bound in irons."[7]

Christian having admirably triumphed over these enemies and over Demas, becomes confident, and not only involves himself, but leads his companion into great trouble. While in the dungeon, and suffering under awful doubts, Bunyan aptly introduces the subject of suicide.

The dialogue upon self-murder, between Christian and Hopeful in Doubting Castle, might have been intended as an antidote to Dr. Donne's singular treatise to prove "that self-homicide is not so naturally sin, that it may never be otherwise." So singular a thesis by a learned man and a dignitary of the church, must have made a deep impression upon the public. It was published by authority in 1644. In his preface, the learned Doctor says: "Whether it be because I had my first breeding and conversation with men of a suppressed and afflicted religion, accustomed to the despite of death, or from other causes; whensoever any affliction assails me, methinks I have *the keys of the prison* in my own hand, and no remedy presents itself, so soon to my heart as mine own sword. Often meditation of this hath won me to a charitable interpretation of their action who die so;" and his conclusion is,[8] "that self-homicide may be free, not only from enormous degrees of sin, but from all." The whole work displays great learning and extreme subtilty; I doubt much whether St. Thomas Aquinas could have argued so absurdly wicked a proposition better; and against such an adversary Bunyan appears in the person of Hopeful, and in a few words dissipates all the mist of his subtilties, and exposes the utter peril and destruction that must follow so awful a sin as self-murder. The dignitary of the church was taught by schoolmen a difference between sins which a simple Christian could not have conceived. Dr. Donne quotes the penitential

[7] Page 124. [8] Page 26.

canons which inflict a greater penance upon one who kills his wife, than upon one who kills his mother; not that the fault is greater, but that, otherwise, more would commit it."[6] Our pious Pilgrim, taught by the Holy Spirit, abhors *all* sin as bringing the curse of the law upon the sinner, and requiring the blood of atonement to cleanse its stain.

Bunyan was by nature a philosopher; he knew the devices of Satan, and warns the professor of his danger of backsliding. The conversation upon this subject between the pilgrims,[7] opens the depths of the human heart, and the subtiltics of Satan. One Temporary represents those professors who return to the world; he had wept under a sense of sin; had set out on pilgrimage, but was perverted by Save-self. Christian had a narrow escape from Worldly Wiseman, but Temporary was lost. He warns the pilgrim of one great device of the enemy in his treatise of "A Holy Life." "Take heed, professor, of those sins which Satan finds most suitable to your temper and constitution;" these, as the little end of the wedge, enter with ease, and so make way for those that come after, with which Satan knows he can rend the soul in pieces.

In the conversation with Ignorance,[8] Bunyan speaks the sentiments but not in the language of Arthur Dent, when in the Plain Man's Path-way to heaven, he says:—"You measure yourselves by yourselves, and by others; which is a false metewand. For you seem to lie straight, so long as you are measured by yourselves and by others; but lay the rule of God's word unto you, and then you lie altogether crooked."

At length Christian and Hopeful arrive at the river which has no bridge; they cross in safety, and ascend to blessedness, which "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive." We see them enter, and are ready to exclaim,

> "Celestial visions—Then the wondrous story,
> Of *Bunyan's Pilgrims* seem'd a tale most true;

[6] Page 28. [7] Page 180. [8] Page 174.

How he beheld their entrance into glory,
And saw them pass the pearly portal through;
Catching, meanwhile, a beatific view
Of that bright city, shining like the sun
Whose glittering streets appear'd of golden hue,
Where spirits of the just, their conflicts done,
Walk'd in white robes, with palms, and crowned every one.'

After having accompanied the Pilgrim and his friend Hopeful to the gates of the Celestial City, and longed to enter with him into the realms of bliss, we naturally revert to his widow and orphans, and with renewed delight do we find the truth of the promise: "Thy Maker is thy husband," "a father to the fatherless." We unite heart and soul with the amiable family at the Interpreter's house, who "leaped for joy" when she arrived. And on reaching the Palace Beautiful, "Oh what a noise for gladness was there within, when the Damsel did but drop that word out of her mouth, Christiana and her boys have come on pilgrimage." Having been the road before, we feel renewed pleasure at every step, and richly enjoy our new companions; for the inexhaustible treasures of Bunyan's mind furnishes us with new pleasures every step of the way.

Bunyan's views of church fellowship show his heavenly-mindedness, and happy would it be for the church if all its members were deeply imbued with these peaceful, lovely principles; he thus expresses them:

"Christians are like the several FLOWERS in a garden, that have upon each of them the Dew of Heaven, which being shaken with the wind, they let fall their dew at each others roots, whereby they are jointly nourished, and become nourishers of one another. Also where the Gardiner has set them, there they stand, and quarrel not one with another.[1] For Christians to commune savourly of God's matters one with another, it is as if they opened to each others nostrils Boxes of Perfumes.[2] Saith Paul to the Church at Rome: *I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift, to the end you may be established;* that is, *that I may be comforted together with you, by the mutual faith both of you and me.*" Rom. i. 11, 12.

The character of Mercy is lovely throughout the whole

[9] Barton's Minor Poems, 1824, fcp. 8vo, p. 75.

[1] Page 243.

[2] Christian Behaviour, in Bunyan's Works, 1692, p. 595.

journey; but there is a circumstance in her courtship which may not be generally understood. It is where she refers to the conduct of her brother-in-law, to her sister Bountiful; a method of separating man and wife at all times perfectly illegal, and happily at present unknown: "Because my sister was resolved to do as she begun, that is, to shew kindness to the poor, therefore her husband first cried her down at the cross, and then turned her out of his doors."[3] This is a summary mode of divorce, not mentioned in any work on vulgar customs or popular antiquities. My kind friend, the Rev. J. Jukes, the pastor of the church at Bedford, informs me, "That the practice of crying a wife at the market cross seems to have prevailed in Bedfordshire almost to the present time, and to have been merely a mode of advertisement to the public, that the husband would not pay the debts of his wife, contracted subsequent to the time when it occurred."

The character of Mr. Brisk is wittily drawn in Bunyan's emblems:

—"Candles that do blink within the socket,
And saints whose eyes are always in their pocket,
Are much alike; such candles make us fumble;
And at such saints, good men and bad do stumble."

Bunyan enjoyed the beauties of nature, especially the singing of birds; thus when Christiana leaves the Palace Beautiful, the songs of the birds are reduced to poetry, to comfort the Pilgrims. A bird furnished him with one of his divine emblems. It is upon the lark:

"This pretty bird, oh! how she flies and sings
But could she do so if she had not wings?
Her wings bespeak my faith, her songs my peace;
When I believe and sing, my doubtings cease."[4]

Mercy longs for that mirror which flatters not, and the shepherds give her a Bible. Modern Christians may wonder that she had not previously furnished herself with one; doubtless she had the use of one, and all her pocket money went to

[3] Page 274 [4] Page 282.

relieve the distresses of the poor of Christ's flock. Think of the thousands of pious men and women incarcerated in dungeons, because they loved Christ, and dared not violate conscience. What a charge upon those saints who possessed the means of rendering them assistance. The revenues of the church by law established were never used for the distribution of Bibles; of late years, part of the wealth she derived from her monopoly in printing incorrect Bibles has been wrung from her, and the word of life now flows all pure as a mighty river, to refresh the earth. All honour be paid to those who fought that battle, and obtained that important victory. In Bunyan's time, the church allowed it only "in a niggard stream, and that polluted." Herbert has well expressed the value of the mirror which Mercy longed for:[4]

"The Bible is the looking-glass of souls, wherein
All men may see
Whether they be
Still as by nature they are, deformed with sin;
Or in a better case,
As new adorned with grace."[5]

And he has thus shown the value of its sacred pages, to guide the benighted travellers: "Greatheart struck a light, and took a view of his book or map."[6]

"The Bible! That's the book. The book indeed,
The book of books!
On which who looks,
As he should do aright, shall never need
Wish for a better light
To guide him in the night."[7]

The Christian reader can scarcely know, after having read the whole volume, which gave the greatest enjoyment; whether travelling in company with Christian and his bosom friend, or the delightful feelings excited by witnessing the matronly conduct of Christiana; seeing her modest friend, Mercy, a lovely companion, or the excellent picture of child-

[4] Page 342.
[5] Herbert's Synagogue, p. i.
[6] Page 353.
[7] Herbert's Synagogue, p. 15.

like behaviour in the four boys: retracing the road, every step becomes delightfully interesting, and the Valley of Humiliation the most lovely picture of the whole. The courtship of Mr. Brisk—the additions to their company—the weddings, and the happy close, by the final perseverance of the whole party, lead every reader earnestly to wish for a third part, more adventures, more of the divine goodness, more proofs that in this world, with all its bitterness, the Gospel of Jesus Christ makes its possessors happy; yes, "we have the promise of the life that now is, as well as of that which is come." But death, probably from the latent effects of his imprisonment, cut short the valuable life of the Pilgrim's friend. And now a poor though just recompence is to be paid to his memory, by placing his image, with those of Milton, Shakspeare, Hampden, and the giant men who have shed glory upon this nation, in the splendid new house in which the Commons of England are to hold their sittings.

GEORGE OFFOR.

ADDENDA.

SINCE that part of the Introduction was printed which relates to the final release of Bunyan from prison, some important information has been obtained through the kindness of J. B. Lennard, Esq., of the Privy Council Office, and from some original letters written at the time by Members of the Society of Friends, by which it appears that Bunyan owed his release to following the advice of George Whitehead, which was to petition the king.

Upon the declaration for Liberty of Conscience,[5] the following Circular was sent to the sheriffs from the Council:

"After our hearty commendations—Whereas request hath been made unto His Majesty, in behalf of the Quakers, who remain at present in several gaols and

[5] See p. lviii.

prisons of this Kingdom, That His Majesty would be pleased to extend his mercy towards them, and give order for their Release ; Which His Majesty taking into consideration, hath thought fit, in order to his clearer information, before he resolve any-thing therein, to command us to write these Our Letters unto you : And, accordingly wee do hereby will and require you to procure a perfect Lyste or Calendar of the names, time, and causes of comitment of all such Persons called Quakers, as are remayning in any Goale or Prison within that County, and to return y^e^ same forthwith to this Board. And so nothing doubting of your ready performance of this His Majesty's command, we bid you heartily farewell.

From the Court at Whitehall, y^e^ 29th of March, 1672.

Signed

Earle of Ossory	Earle of Carlisle	Lord Holles
Earle of Bathe	Ea of Lauderdail	Mr. Sec^y^ Trevor
Earle of Craven	Lord Newport	Mr. of y^e^ Ordnance."

Like trẽs dated and signed ut supra were sent to y^e^ Warden of y^e^ Fleet and Mareshall of y^e^ King's Bench Prisons, And to y^e^ Mayors or Justices of y^e^ seuerall places hereunder written, viz.

Citty and County of y^e^ Citty of Chester.	Citty and County of Lincolne.
Citty and County of y^e^ Citty of Exon.	Citty and County of Brestoll.
Towne and County of Poole.	Towne and County of Southton.
Citty and County of Glocester.	Citty and County of y^e^ Citty of Yorke.[1]

The indefatigable manner in which the Quakers proceeded to get the requisite official signatures to release their suffering and dying friends, is beyond all praise. They wrote to all their meetings throughout the country to obtain assistance, to enable them to meet the demands for fees, and even sent their female friends to the officials, to press on this glorious gaol delivery. This appears from the following letters:

George Whitehead to Stephen Crisp.

3rd of 1st Month [April] 1672.

Before thy letter had come to hand, I had drawn up a paper containing the substance of thine, which Thos. Moore had given to the King, together with a list of the præmunired Friends and of those sentenced to banishment &c. ; which hitherto has been effectual, in order to a further enquiry about Friends, &c. How far the King and Council have proceeded, in answer to the request, I leave it to Wm. Crouch to inform thee. Thy paper is kept for a further occasion if need be, if our end be not answered by them. But we are encouraged to hope well for divers reasons. I could not well send to write to thee before, being much exercised for the sufferers. The Council yesterday signed the letters to the Sheriffs for a return of Friends Commitments, &c. to the Board ; so that they are like to be had with expedition into the several Counties.

My very dear love to thee, thy wife, R. Crouch, and Friends

In haste, thy dear brother,

[From the original.] G. W.

[1] Extracted from the Register of the Privy Council.

John Rouse to Margaret Fox.

London, 4th of 2nd Month [*May*], 1672.

DEAR MOTHER,

Last 6th day the two women took the grant out of the Attorney-general's office, and he gave them his fee, which should have been £5; his clerk took but 20s., whereas his fee was 40s. Yesterday they went with it to the King, who signed it in the Council; and Arlington also signed it, but would take no fees, whereas his fees would have been £12 or £20; neither would Williamson's man take any thing, saying, that if any religion were true, it was ours. To-morrow it is to pass the signet, and on sixth day the privy seal, and afterwards the broad seal, which may be done on any day. The power of the Lord hath wrought mightily in the accomplishment of it; and the Lord hath bowed their hearts wonderfully in it blessed be his name for ever!

Thy dear son in the Lord,
JOHN ROUSE.

Circular sent to the Quakers in the Country:

Friends and Brethren,

We suppose you may not be insensible how that upon sundry applications made to the King and Council in time past and more especially now of late for the release of our dear suffering Friends, the Clerk and others, and others attending him and them, have upon that account been put to a great deal of trouble and pains in writing of orders and letters to the Sheriffs of the respective Counties in England and Wales, and otherwise in order to Friends discharge, and although for some years together their labour therein (as well as those of us who travelled in that affair on Friends behalf) was from time to time rendered ineffectual, yet at this present, there appears a very great probability of accomplishing our friends liberty, which hath and doth renew an additional trouble upon them, and thereby a further obligation laid upon us to requite them for their pains, and not only them but also the Clerks of the Keeper, Attorney General, and other inferior officers, who in drawing up the Kings grant and orders, and Friends general discharge (now in agitation towards an accomplishment) will be at no small trouble in writing and other services in order thereunto that we apprehend Friends cannot be clear if they do not in some measure answer the reasonable part in them by gratifying them for their pains. Wherefore we saw meet to recommend it to such Friends in the Counties as are or have been lately prisoners for the truth's sake and who are to share in the benefit that may accrue by the King's intended general discharge that they will be pleased to contribute their proportion toward the defraying of this great charge which they are desired forthwith to take into their consideration accordingly and to send it up to London with all convenient expedition unto Gerad Roberts, John Osgood, and William Welch or any or either of them for the purpose aforementioned. We remain Your dear friends and brethren.

London, 5th of 4th mo. 1672.

Part of the money is already disbursed on this behalf by Friends in London.

Extracted from the Minute Book of the Society of Friends, 1672, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate.

Ellis Hookes to Margaret Fox.

13*th of* 6*th month* (*Sept.*) 1672.

"G. W. and myself have been much employed this summer in the business of the prisoners liberty, &c."—he describes the process of getting the pardon through the various offices.

Ellis Hookes to Margaret Fox.

1*st of* 8*th mo* (*Nov.*) 1672.

The deed of pardon prepared on 11 skins about 500 names; hoped that a letter from the principal Secretary of State "may be effectual to discharge them."

Same to same.

10*th of* 10*th month* (*Jan.*) 167$\frac{2}{3}$.

All the prisoners were Discharged except those in Durham, Cumberland, Lancashire, and Monmouth in *Wales*.

At the meeting of the Privy Council, held on the 8th of May, 1672,[7] in presence of His Majesty, and a numerous assembly of his nobles, before the order was made to relieve the Quakers, it is recorded:

At the Court at Whitehall
8th May, 1672.

Reference Peticôn severall Non-Conformists Prisoners in Cambridge Castle and Bedford Goale.

Upon reading this day at the board the humble petition of John Fenn, John Bunyon, John Dunn, Thomas Haynes, Simon Haynes, and George Farr prisoners in the Goal of Bedford and James Rogers prisoner in the Castle of Cambridge for being at Conventicles and Non-conformity. It was ordered to be referred to the Sheriffs of the Counties of Bedford and Cambridge to examine the said Petitions and forthwith certify this Board whether the said parties are detained in prison for the offences therein mentioned or for what other crimes.

At the Court at Whitehall
y^{e} 17th of May, 1672.
The King's most excellent Ma^{tie}.

Lord Arch Bp of Canterbury	Earle of Shaffsbury
Lord Keeper	Viscot Fauconberg
Duke of Lauderdale	Viscot Halifax
Duke of Ormonde	Lord Newport
Marquis of Worcester	Lord Hollis
Earle of Bridgewater	Lord Clifford
Earle of Essex	Mr. Vice Chamberlain
Earle of Anglesey	Mr. Secretary Trevor
Earle of Bathe	Mr. Montague
Earle of Carlisle	Mr. Chancellor of y^{e} Dutchy
Earle of Craven	Master of y^{e} Ordnance
Earle of Arlington	Sr Thomas Osborne

[7] See p. lx. Introduction.

Whereas by order of the Board of the 8th Instant the humble Petition of John Fenn John Bunyon John Dunn Thomas Haynes Simon Haynes and George Farr Prisoners in the Goale of Bedford Convicted upon severall Statutes for not conforming to the Rights and Ceremonyes of the Church of England and for being at unlawful Meetings, was Referred to the Sheriffe of the County of Bedford who was required to Certify this Board whether the said persons were comitted for the Crimes in the said Petition mentioned and for no other which he haveing accordingly done by his certificate dated the 11th Instant It was thereupon this day ordered by his Matie in Councill, That the said petition and Certificate be (and are herewith) sent to his Maties Attorney Generall, who is authorised and required to insert them into the Generall Pardon to be passed for the Quakers. If he finds that they are within the compass of his Maties pardon according to the Rule Prescribed by the order of the 8th of May about pardon for the Quakers.

The like order for Francis Holcroft and James Rogers for frequenting unlawful meetings as by certificate from the Sheriffe of Cambridge of the 10th and 11th Instant.

At a Court at Whitehall, ye 22nd May 1672,

A similar order was made for Walter Penn and twelve others, prisoners in Wilts.

At a Court ye 7th of June 1672,

On a Certificate of the Mayor, Sheriff and Aldermen of Worcester, Robert Smith, a Baker, was ordered to be inserted in the pardon.

On the 12th of June the petition of twenty-two prisoners was read and referred to the Sheriffs, and on the 26th their names were ordered to be inserted in the pardon.

On the 14th of June Thomas More the Quaker obtained a similar order, and on the 26th of June Thomas Gower Durham and eight prisoners in Devon and Exeter were ordered to be inserted in the pardon.

Through all these minutes the intended patent is referred to as the General Pardon to the Quakers.

Thus we find undoubted proof upon the records of the Privy Council of England, presided over by the king in person that John Bunyan's only crime, as certified by the sheriff, and for which he was counted worthy of so cruel an imprisonment, was being present with others to worship his Maker in simplicity and in truth. This was all his crime; "the very head and front of his offence." Oh, that all her Majesty's subjects would constantly follow his example! then might our prisons be converted into colleges and schools, and our land become an earthly Paradise.

SYNOPSIS.

FIRST PART.

THE Author's Apology, a poem. Graceless becomes a Christian; alarmed for the safety of his soul; is treated by his family as one diseased; guided by Evangelist; runs towards the Wicket-gate; is overtaken by Obstinate and Pliable; persuades Pliable to fly with him; fall into the Slough of Despond; Pliable returns; Christian, assisted by Help, goes on; meets Worldly-Wiseman; complains of his burden, and is sent out of his way to the house of Legality; terrified at Mount Sinai; Evangelist appears and puts him again into the right road; arrives at the Wicket-gate; is admitted by Good-Will and sent to the Interpreter's house; is shown a picture; a dusty room; Passion and Patience; the fire of grace; the valiant man; the man in despair; the trembler; proceeds to the cross; loses his burden; angels give him a pardon, new cloathing, a mark and a roll; tries to alarm three men asleep, but in vain; meets Formalist and Hypocrisy; ascends the hill Difficulty; sleeps in the arbour and drops his roll; is awakened and pursues his journey; meets Mistrust and Timorous; misses his roll; returns in grief and recovers it; goes on to the palace Beautiful; encouraged by Watchful he passes the lions, and after examination is admitted *according to the laws of the house;* entertained; sleeps in the Chamber of Peace; sees the study; the armoury; the Delectable Mountains; enters the Valley of Humiliation; fights with and overcomes Apollyon; comes to the Valley of the Shadow of Death; terrified by the

spies; assaulted with foes who care not for his sword; betakes himself to another weapon, "All-prayer;" comes out of the Valley and passes the old giants, Pagan and Pope; overtakes Faithful, a fellow pilgrim; hold communion with each other; converse with Talkative; Evangelist forewarns them of persecution; enter Vanity Fair; are maltreated; imprisoned; Faithful is tried and burned; Christian pursues his journey, and is joined by Hopeful; Byends wishes to join them; the sophistry of Hold-the-World detected; Demas tempts them to the Hill Lucre, but they refuse; arrive at the River of the Water of Life; they go into By-path Meadow; follow Vain-Confidence; are taken by Giant Despair, and imprisoned in Doubting Castle; arguments for and against suicide; escapes by the Key of Promise; erects a pillar to caution others; arrive at the Delectable Mountains; entertained by the shepherds; shown Mounts Error, Caution, Clear; see the Celestial Gate; receive some cautions; fail in attempting to convert Ignorance; robbery of Little-Faith; meet the Flatterer, and are caught in his net; released by a Shining One; meet Atheist; adventures on the Enchanted Ground; means of watchfulness; enter the Land of Beulah; are sick with love; approach the River of Death; no bridge; full of fear and dread, but get safely over; received by angels; admitted to glory.

SECOND PART.

The Author's way of sending it forth, a Poem. Sagacity narrates how Christiana, the widow of Christian, reflects upon her former conduct, feels her danger, and agrees with her children to follow her late husband in pilgrimage; is encouraged by a secret influence on her mind that she would be received; her neighbours dissuade her, but she prevails upon one of them, Mercy, to go with her; she is reviled by her acquaintance; get over the Slough of Despond, and are admitted at the Wicket-gate and rejoice together. They are fed, washed, and sent on their way; the children eat the enemies' fruit; are assaulted, but rescued by the Reliever; arrive at the Interpreter's house; shown

the significant rooms, the man who prefers a muck-rake to a celestial crown, the spider in the best-room, the hen and chickens, butcher and sheep, the garden, the field, the robin; the Interpreter's proverbs; tree rotten at heart; they relate their experience; Mercy is sleepless for joy; they are washed, which enlivens and strengthens them; sealed and clothed; Greatheart guards them to the house called Beautiful; pass the sepulchre where Christian lost his burden; pardon by word *and* deed, an important distinction; see Simple, Sloth, and Presumption hanging; names of those that they had ruined; Hill Difficulty; By-ways, although stopped and cautioned, still entered; rest in the Arbour, but are afraid to sleep; still suffer by forgetfulness; punishment of Timorous and Mistrust; Giant Grim slain; Pilgrims arrive at the Palace Beautiful; Greatheart returns; they are entertained for a month; the children catechised; Mr. Brisk makes love to Mercy; her sister Bountiful's unhappy marriage; Matthew sick with the enemies' fruit; is healed by Dr. Skill; his prescriptions; instructive questions; they are greatly strengthened; Mr. Greatheart sent to guard them; enter the Valley of Humiliation, and are pleased with it; shepherd boy's song; see the place where Christian and Apollyon fought; come into the Valley of the Shadow of Death; are greatly terrified; Giant Maul slain; find Old Honest, a pilgrim, sleeping; he joins them; story of Mr. Fearing; good men sometimes much in the dark; he fears no difficulties only lest he should deceive himself; case of Self-Will; a singular sect in the author's time; are entertained at the house of Gaius; pilgrims, the descendants of the martyrs; Matthew and Mercy betrothed; riddles in verse; Slay-Good, a giant, slain; Feeble-Mind rescued; proves to be related to Mr. Fearing; Not-Right killed with a thunder-bolt; Matthew and Mercy, and James and Phebe, married; Feeble-Mind and Ready-to-Halt join the Pilgrims; profitable converse between Honest and Greatheart; Vanity Fair; the death of Faithful had planted a little colony of pilgrims there; pleasant communion; courage and an unspotted life essential to pilgrims; Samuel and Grace, and Joseph and Martha, married. The Monster [state religion] assaulted and

wounded; believed by some that he will die of his wounds; pass the place where Faithful was martyred; the silver mine; Lot's wife; arrive at the river near the Delectable Mountains; By-path Meadow; slay Giant Despair, and Diffidence, his wife, and destroy Doubting Castle; release Mr. Despondency and Miss Much-Afraid; Great-Heart addresses the shepherds in rhyme; Mounts Marvel, Innocent, and Charity; see the hole in the side of the Hill; Mercy longs for a curious mirror; the pilgrims are adorned; story of Turnaway; find Valiant-for-Truth wounded by thieves; account of his conversion; the question debated, that if we shall know ourselves, we shall know others in the future state; arguments used by relatives to prevent pilgrimage; the Enchanted ground; an arbour called the Slothful's Friend; in doubt as to the way, the book or map is examined; Heedless and Bold in a fatal sleep; surprised by a solemn noise, they are led to Mr. Standfast in prayer, he having been assailed by Madam Bubble; arrive in the Land of Beulah and are delighted with celestial visions on the borders of the River of Death; Christiana summoned, addresses her guide, blesses her children and her fellow pilgrims; her last words; Ready-to-Halt passes the river; Feeble-Mind is called, will make no will, and goes up to the Celestial City; Despondency and Much-Afraid die singing; Honest dies singing, *Grace reigns;* Valiant-for-Truth and Stand-Fast joyfully pass the river, leaving a solemn message to relatives. Joy in heaven on the arrival of the pilgrims. Christiana's children a blessing to the church.

AMBOINA



The first and second editions have no Portrait of the Author: the third has an engraved Portrait by White. This Cut is copied from the seventh edition.

THE

Pilgrim's Progreſs

FROM

THIS WORLD

TO

That which is to come:

Delivered under the Similitude of a

DREAM

Wherein is Discovered

The manner of his setting out,
His Dangerous Journey; And safe
Arrival at the Desired Countrey.

I haue uſed Similitudes. Hoſ. 12. 10.

By *John Bunyan*

Licenſed and Entred according to Order.

LONDON,
Printed for *Nath. Ponder* at the *Peacock*
in the *Poultrey* near *Cornhil*, 1678.

THE

AUTHOR'S Apology

For his BOOK.

When at the first I took my Pen in hand,
Thus for to write; I did not understand
That I at all should make a little Book
In such a mode; Nay, I had undertook
To make another, which when almost done;
Before I was aware, I [1]*this begun.*
And thus it was: I writing of the Way
And Race of Saints, in this our Gospel-Day,
Fell suddenly into an Allegory
About their Journey, and the way to Glory,
In more than twenty things, which I set down;
This done, I twenty more had in my Crown,
And they again began to multiply,
Like sparks that from the coals of fire do fly.
Nay then, thought I, if that you breed so fast,
I'll put you by your selves, lest you at last
Should prove ad infinitum, *and eat out*
The Book that I already am about.
Well, so I did; but yet I did not think
To show to all the World my Pen and Ink
In such a mode; I only thought to make
I knew not what: nor did I undertake
Thereby to please my Neighbour; no not I:
I did it mine own self to gratifie.

[1] *thus*, 2nd edit.

Neither did I but vacant seasons spend
In this my Scribble; nor did I intend
But to divert my self in doing this,
From worser thoughts, which make me do amiss.
Thus I set Pen to Paper with delight,
And quickly had my thoughts in black and white.
For having now my Method by the end,
Still as I pull'd, it came; and so I penn'd
It down; until it [1]*came at last to be,*
For length and breadth the bigness which you see.
Well, when I had thus put mine ends together,
I shew'd them others, that I might see whether
They would condemn them, or them justifie:
And some said, let them live; some, let them die.
Some said, John, *print it; others said, Not so:*
Some said, It might do good; others said, No.
Now was I in a straight, and did not see
Which was the best thing to be done by me:
At last I thought, Since you are thus divided,
I print it will; and so the case decided.
For, thought I, Some, I see, would have it done,
Though others in that Channel do not run;
To prove then who advised for the best,
Thus I thought fit to put it to the test.
I further thought, if now I did deny
Those that would have it thus, to gratifie,
I did not know but hinder them I might
Of that which would to them be great delight.
For those [2]*that were not for its coming forth,*
I said to them, [3] *Offend you I am loth;*
Yet since your Brethren pleased with it be,
Forbear to judge, till you do further see.

[1] 'at last it came,' 2nd edit.
[2] 'which,' 2nd and all sub. edits.
[3] 'Offend you I am loth,' roman 8th and sub. edits.

If that thou wilt not read, let it alone;
Some love the meat, some love to pick the bone:
Yea, that I might them better [1]*palliate,*
I did too with them [2]*thus Expostulate.*
May I not write in such a stile as this?
In such a method too, and yet not miss
[3]*Mine end, thy good? why may it not be done?*
Dark Clouds bring Waters, when the bright bring none
Yea, dark, or bright, if they their Silver drops
Cause to descend, the Earth, by yielding Crops,
Gives praise to both, and carpeth not at either,
But treasures up the Fruit they yield together:
Yea, so commixes both, that in her Fruit
None can distinguish this from that, they suit
Her well, when hungry: but if she be full,
She spues out both, and makes their blessings null.
You see the ways the Fisher-man doth take
To catch the Fish; what Engins doth he make?
Behold how he [4]*ingageth all his Wits,*
Also his Snares, Lines, Angles, Hooks and Nets.
Yet Fish there be, that neither Hook, nor Line,
Nor Snare, nor Net, nor [5]*Engin can make thine;*
They must be grop't for, and be tickled too,
Or they will not be catcht, what e're you do.
How doth the Fowler seek to catch his Game,
By divers means, all which one cannot name?
His Gun, his Nets, his Lime-twigs, light, and bell:
He creeps, he goes, he stands; yea who can tell
Of all his postures, Yet there's none of these
Will make him master of what Fowls he please.

[1] 'palliate,' to the 9th, 1683; altered to 'moderate,' in 9th, 1684, and sub. edits.
[2] 'thus,' roman, 3rd edit.
[3] 'My,' 3rd and sub. edits.
[4] engageth, 3rd and sub. edits.
[5] *Engine,* 3rd and sub. edits.

Yea, he must Pipe, and Whistle to catch [1]*this;*
Yet if he does so, [1] *that Bird he will miss.*
If that a Pearl may in a Toads-head dwell,
And may be found too in an [2]*Oister-shell;*
If things that promise nothing, do contain
What better is then Gold; who will disdain,
[3]*(That have an inkling of it,) there to look,*
That they may find it. Now my little Book,
(Tho void of all those paintings that may make
It with this or the other Man to take,)
Is not without those things that do excel
What do in brave, but empty notions dwell.
[4]*Well, yet I am not fully satisfied,*
[4]*That this your Book will stand when soundly try'd;*
Why, what's the matter! it is dark, what tho?
But it is feigned. What of that I tro?
Some men by feigning words as dark as mine,
Make truth to spangle, and its rayes to shine.
[5]*But they want solidness: Speak man thy mind,*
[6]*They drown'd the weak; Metaphors make us blind.*
Solidity, indeed becomes the Pen
Of him that writeth things Divine to men:
But must I needs want solidness, because
By Metaphors I speak; [7]*Was not Gods Laws,*
His Gospel-Laws, in [8]*older time held forth*
By Types, Shadows and Metaphors? Yet loth
Will any sober man [9] *be to find fault*
With them, lest he be found for to assault

[1] 'this' and 'that,' roman, 3rd and sub. edits.
[2] Oister-shell; roman, 3rd and sub. edits.
[3] (), not in 3rd and sub. edits.
[4 4] Two lines roman, 3rd and sub. edits.
[5] First four words roman, 3rd and sub. edits.
[6] Line roman, 3rd and sub. edits.
[7] were, 8th and sub. edits.
[8] olden, 3rd and sub. edits.
[9] man below, 2nd edit.

The highest Wisdom. No, he rather stoops,
And seeks to find out what by pins and loops,
By Calves ; and Sheep ; by Heifers, and by Rams ;
By Birds, and Herbs, and by the blood of Lambs,
God speaketh to him. And happy is he
That finds the light, and grace that in them be.
Be not too forward therefore to conclude,
That I want solidness, that I am rude :
All things solid in shew, not solid be ;
All things in parables despise not we,
Lest things most hurtful lightly we receive,
And things that good are, of our souls bereave.
My dark and cloudy words they do but hold
The Truth, as Cabinets inclose the Gold.
The Prophets used much by Metaphors
To set forth Truth ; Yea, who so considers
Christ, his Apostles too, shall plainly see,
That Truths to this day in such Mantles be.
Am I afraid to say that holy Writ,
Which for its Stile, and Phrase puts down all Wit,
Is every where so full of all these things,
(Dark Figures, Allegories,) yet there springs
From that same Book that lustre, and those rayes
Of light, that turns our darkest nights to days.
Come, let my Carper, to his Life now look,
And find There darker lines then in my Book
He findeth any. Yea, and let him know,
That in his best things there are worse lines too.
May we but stand before impartial men,
To his poor One, I [1] *durst adventure Ten,*
That they will take my meaning in these lines
Far better than his Lies in Silver Shrines.

[1] dare, 3rd and sub. edits.

Come, Truth, although in Swadling-clouts, I find
Informs the Judgement, rectifies the Mind,
Pleases the Understanding, makes the Will
Submit; the Memory too it doth fill
With what doth our [1]*Imagination please;*
Likewise, it tends our troubles to appease.
Sound words I know Timothy *is to use;*
And old Wives Fables he is to refuse,
But yet grave Paul, *him no where* [2]*doth forbid*
The use of Parables; in which lay hid
That Gold, those Pearls, and precious stones that were
Worth digging for; and that with greatest care.
Let me add one word more, O man of God!
Art thou offended? dost thou wish I had
Put forth my matter in an other dress,
Or that I had in things been more express?
[3]*Three things let me propound, then I submit*
[3]*To those that are my betters, (as is fit.)*
1. *I find not that I am denied the use*
Of this my method, so I no abuse
Put on the Words, Things, Readers, or be rude
In handling Figure, or Similitude,
In application; but, all that I may,
Seek the advance of Truth, this or that way:
Denyed, did I say? Nay, I have leave,
(Example too, and that from them that have
God better pleased by their words or ways,
Then any man that breatheth now a days,)
Thus to express my mind, thus to declare
Things unto thee, that excellentest are.
2. *I find that men (as high as Trees) will write*
Dialogue-wise; yet no man doth them slight

[1] Imaginations, 3rd and sub. edits.

[2] *did*, 3rd and sub edits.

[3 3] These two lines transposed in the 8th and sub. edits.

For writing so: Indeed if they abuse
Truth, cursed be they, and, the craft they use
To that intent; But yet let Truth be free
To make her Salleys upon Thee, and Me,
Which way it pleases God. For who knows how,
Better than he that taught us first to Plow,
To guide our Mind and Pens for his Design?
And he makes base things usher in Divine.

3. *I find that holy Writ in many places,*
Hath semblance with this method, where the cases
[1] *Doth call for one thing, to set forth another:*
Use it I may then, and yet nothing smother
Truths golden Beams; Nay, by this method may
Make it cast forth its rayes as light as day.
And now, before I do put up my Pen,
[2] *I'le shew the profit of my Book, and then*
Commit both thee, and it unto that hand [*stand.*
That pulls the strong down, and makes weak ones
This Book it chaulketh out before thine eyes
The man that seeks the everlasting Prize:
It shews you whence he comes, whither he goes,
What he leaves undone; also what he does:
It also shews you how he runs, and runs
Till he unto the Gate of Glory comes.
It shows too, who sets out for life amain,
As if the lasting Crown they would attain:
Here also you may see the reason why
They loose their labour, and like Fools do die.
This Book will make a Travailer of thee,
If by its Counsel thou wilt ruled be;
It will direct thee to the Holy Land,
If thou wilt its Directions understand:

[1] Do, 3rd and sub. edits. [2] I'l, or I'll, 7th and sub. edits.

Yea, it will make the sloathful, active be;
The Blind also, delightful things to see.
Art thou for something rare, and profitable?
Wouldest thou see a Truth within a Fable?
Art thou forgetful? wouldest thou remember
From New-year's-day *to the last of* December?
Then read my fancies, they will stick like Burs,
And may be to the Helpless, Comforters.
This Book is writ in such a Dialect,
As may the minds of listless men affect:
It seems a Novelty, and yet contains
Nothing but sound, and honest Gospel-strains.
Would'st thou divert thy self from Melancholly?
Would'st thou be pleasant, yet be far from folly?
Would'st thou read Riddles, & their Explanation?
Or else be [1]*drownded in thy Contemplation?*
Dost thou love picking meat? Or wouldst thou see
A man i'th Clouds, and hear him speak to thee?
Would'st thou be in a Dream, and yet not sleep?
Or wouldest thou in a moment laugh, and weep?
Wouldest thou [2]*loose thy self, and catch no harm?*
And find thy self again without a charm?
Would'st read thy self, and read thou know'st not what
And yet know whether thou art blest or not,
By reading the same lines? O then come hither,
And lay my Book, thy Head, and Heart together.

JOHN BUNYAN.

[1] drowned, 2nd and sub. edits. [2] lose, 3rd and sub. edits.

THE

Pilgrims Progress:

In the similitude of a

D R E A M.

AS I walk'd through the wilderness of this world, I lighted on a certain place, where was *a Denn; And I laid me down in that place to sleep: And as I slept I dreamed a Dream. I dreamed, and behold *I saw a Man** *cloathed with* [2]*Raggs, standing in a certain place, with his face from his own House, a Book in his hand, and a great burden upon his back.* I looked, and saw him open the Book, and Read therein; and as he Read, he wept and trembled: and not being able longer to contain, he brake out with a lamentable cry; saying, *what shall I do?*

*' [1] The Goal.'

* Isa. 64. 6. Luke 14. 33. Ps. 38. 4. Hab. 2. 2. Act 16. 31.

' [1] His Outcry.'

† ' In this plight therefore he went home, and ' [4] refrained himself as long as he could, that his ' Wife and Children should not perceive his dis- ' tress; but he could not be silent long, because

Acts 2. 37.[3]

[1] Not inserted in the 1st or 2nd edit., but found in the 7th and subt. ones.

[2] 'Rags,' all the sub. edits.

[3] First inserted in 8th and subt. edits., but all in error quote 'Acts 2. 27.'

† This paragraph, as marked with inverted commas, was first inserted in the second edition, and continued in all subsequent ones.

[4] 'Restrained,' in 2nd edit.

'that his trouble increased: wherefore at length
'he brake his mind to his Wife and Children; and
'thus he began to talk to them, *O my dear Wife,*
'[1]said he, *and you the Children of my bowels, I your*
'*dear friend, am in my self undone, by reason of a*
'*burden that lieth hard upon me: moreover, I am for*
[2]'*This World.*' '*certain informed, that this our City will be burned*
'*with fire from Heaven, in which fearful overthrow,*
'*both myself, with thee, my Wife, and you my sweet*
'*babes, shall miserably come to ruine; except* (*the which,*
'*He knew no way of escape as yet.*'[3] '*yet I see not*) *some way of escape can be found,*
'*whereby we may be delivered.* At this his [4] Rela-
'tions were sore amazed; not for that they be-
'lieved, that what he 'had'[5] said to them was true,
'but because they thought, that some frenzy dis-
'temper had got into his head: therefore, it draw-
'ing towards night, and they hoping that sleep
'might settle his brains, with all hast they got him
'to bed; but the night was as troublesome to him
'as the day: wherefore instead of sleeping, he
'spent it in sighs and tears. So when the morning
'was come, they would know how he did; [6]he told
'them, [7] worse and [7] worse. He also set to talking
'to them again, but they began to be hardened;
'Carnal Physic for a Sick Soul.'[8] 'they also thought to drive away his distemper by
'harsh and surly carriages to him: sometimes they
'would deride, sometimes they would chide, and
'sometimes they would quite neglect him: where-
'fore he began to retire himself to his Chamber to
'pray for, and pity them; and also to condole his
'own misery: he would also walk solitarily in the
'Fields, sometimes reading, and sometimes praying:
'and thus for some days he spent his time.

[1] 'saith he,' 7th, 8th, and 9th; 1683.
[2] First inserted in 9th edit., 1684.
[3] Inserted in 8th edit.
[4] 'Revelations they were,' 7th edit.
[5] 'said he,' previous to the 9th, 1684.
[6] 'And he told,' 7th edit.
[7] Italics, 9th, 1684, and sub.
[8] Inserted in 7th edit.



Christian no sooner leaves the World but meets
Evangelist, who lovingly him greets
With tidings of another: and doth show
Him how to mount to that from this below.

This cut was introduced after the 10th edition. It is copied from the 13th edition, 1692.

'Now, I saw upon a time, when he was walking 'in the Fields, that he was (as he was wont) read- 'ing in his Book, and greatly distressed in his 'mind; and as he read, he burst out, as he had 'Acts 16. 30, 31.[1] 'done before, crying, *What shall I do to be* 'saved?'

I saw also that he looked [2] this way, and [2] that way, as if he would run; yet he stood still, because as I perceived he could not tell which way to go. I looked then, and saw a Man named *Evangelist* coming to him, and asked, *Wherefore dost thou cry?* He answered, Sir, I perceive, by the Book in my * Heb. 9. 27. hand, that I am Condemned to die, and * after that to come to Judgement; and I find that I am not * Job 16. 21. 22.[3] * willing to do the first, nor * able to do the * Ezek. 22. 14. second.

Then [4] said *Evangelist*, Why not willing to die? since this life is attended with so many evils? The Man answered, Because I fear that this burden that is upon my back, will sinck me lower * Isa. 30. 33. then the Grave; and I shall fall into * *Tophet*. And Sir, if I be not fit to go to Prison, I am not fit [6] (I am sure) to go to Judgement, and from thence to Execution; and the thoughts of these things make me cry.

Then [7] said *Evangelist*, If this be thy condition, why standest thou still? He answered, Because I know * 'Conviction of the necessity of flying.'[8] not whither to go. Then he gave him a *Parchment Roll*, and there was written within, * *Fly from* * Mat. 3. 7. *the wrath to come.*

The Man therefore Read it, and looking upon *Evangelist* very carefully; said, Whither must I fly? Then said *Evangelist*, pointing with his finger over a

[1] First inserted in 8th edit.
[2] '*this*' and '*that*' italics, 7th and sub.
[3] All the editions refer to 'Job 26. 21, 22.;' evidently a typ. error.
[4] 'saith,' 7th and 9th, 1683.
[6] 'I am sure,' omitted in 2nd and sub.
[7] 'saith,' 7th and sub.
[8] First inserted in the 2nd edit

very wide Field, Do you see yonder *Wicket-gate? The Man said, No. Then said the other, Do you see yonder* shining light? He said, I think I do. Then said *Evangelist*, Keep that light in your eye, and go up directly thereto, *so shalt thou see the Gate; at which when thou knockest, it shall be told thee what thou shalt do. * Mat. 7. * Psal. 119. 105. 2 Pet. 1. 19.[4] *Christ & the way to him cannot be found without the Word.

So I saw in my Dream, that the Man began to run; now he had not run far from his own door, but his Wife and Children perceiving it, began to cry after him to return: *but the Man put his fingers in his Ears, and ran on crying, Life, Life, Eternal Life: so he looked not behind him, *but fled towards the middle of the Plain. * Luke 14. 26. *Gen. 19. 17.

The Neighbours also came out to *see him run, and as he ran, some mocked, others threatned; and some cried after him to return: [5] Now among those that did so, there were two that were resolved to fetch him back by force: *The name of the one was *Obstinate*, and the name of the other *Pliable*. Now by this time the Man was got a good distance from them; But however they were resolved to pursue him; which they did, and in [6] a' little time they over-took him. Then said the Man, Neighbours, *Wherefore are you come?* They said, To perswade you to go back with us; but he said, That can by no means be: You dwell, [7] said he, in the City of *Destruction* (the place also where I was born,) I see it to be so; and dying there, sooner or later, you will sink lower then the Grave, into a place that burns with Fire and Brimstone; Be content good Neighbours, and go along with me. *They that fly from the wrath to come are A Gazing Stock to the world. * Jer. 20. 10. * Obstinate and Pliable follow him.

**What!* said *Obstinate, and leave our Friends, and our comforts behind us!* * Obstinate.

[4] All the early editions refer to 'v. 29,' but it should be 19: there are only 21 verses in the chapter.

[5] 'And,' 2nd and sub.

[6] 'a little,' 2nd and sub.

[7] '(said he),' 7th and sub.

* Christian. * Yes, said *Christian*, (for that was his name) because that [1]all '*which you shall forsake*,' is not *
* 2 Cor. 4. 18. worthy to be compared with a little of that that I am seeking to enjoy, and if you will go along with me, [2]' and hold it,' you shall fare as I my self;
[3] Luke 15. ' 17.' for there where I go, is * enough, and to spare; Come away, and prove my words.

Obst. *What are the things you seek, since you leave* [4] *all the World to find them?*

* 1 Pet. 1. 4. *Chr.* I seek an * *Inheritance, incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away;* and it is laid
* Heb. 11. 16. up in Heaven, and *[5]fast there, to be bestowed at the time appointed, on them that diligently seek it. ' [6] Read it so, if you will, in my Book.'

Ob. *Tush*, said *Obstinate, away with your Book; will you go back with us, or no?*

Ch. No, not I, [7] said the other; because I have
* Luk. 9. 62. laid my hand to the * Plow.

Ob. *Come then, Neighbour* Pliable, *let us turn again, and go home without him; There is a Company of these Craz'd-headed Coxcombs, that when they take a fancy by the end, are wiser in their own eyes then seven men that can render a Reason.*

Pli. Then said *Pliable*, Don't revile; if what the good *Christian* says is true, the things he looks after, are better than ours: my heart inclines to go with my Neighbour.

Obst. *What! more Fools still? be ruled by me and go back; who knows whither such a brain-sick fellow will lead you? Go back, go back, and be wise.*

[1] '*which you shall forsake*,' 7th and sub. edits.
[2] '*and hold it*,' not in the first edition.
[3] Luke 15. 17, 9th and sub.
[4] All, roman, 7th and sub. This sentence in 9th, 1684, and 10th, is in roman, and *all* in italics.
[5] Safe there, 2nd and sub.
[6] 'Read it so, if you will, in my Book,' added in the 2nd and sub.
[7] 'Saith,' 7th and sub.

Ch. [1]'Nay, but do thou'† come with [3]me Neighbour *Pliable;* there are such things to be had which I spoke of, and many more Glories besides. If you believe not me, read here in this Book; and for the truth of what is exprest therein, behold all is confirmed by the † blood of him that made it.

† 'Christian *and* Obstinate *pull for* Pliable's *Soul.*' [2]

† Heb. 13. 20. 21.

Pli. *Well Neighbour* Obstinate, ([5]*said* Pliable) *I begin to come to a point; I intend to go along with this good man, and to cast in my lot with him: But my good Companion, do you know the way to this desired place?*

'Heb. 9. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.' [4]

* 'Pliable [6] *contented to go with* Christian.'

Ch. I am directed by a man whose name is *Evangelist*, to speed me to a little Gate that is before us, where we shall receive [7]instruction about the way.

Pli. *Come then good Neighbour, let us be going.* [8]Then they went both together.

Obst. And I will go back to my place, said *Obstinate.* I will be no Companion of such miss-led fantastical Fellows.

[9] 'Obstinate *goes railing back.*'

Now I saw in my Dream, that when *Obstinate* was [10]gon back, *Christian* and *Pliable* went * talking over the Plain; and thus they began their discourse,

* *Talk between* Christian *and* Pliable.

Christ. Come Neighbour *Pliable*, how do you do? I am glad you are perswaded to go along with me; [11]and had even *Obstinate* himself, but felt what I have felt of the Powers and Terrours of what is yet unseen, he would not thus lightly have given us the [12]back.

Pliable. *Come Neighbour* Christian, *since there is none but us two here, tell me now further, what the*

[1] 'Nay, but do thou,' first appeared in the 8th edit.
[2] 2nd and sub. edits.
[3] 'thy,' 3rd and sub.
[4] Eighth and sub. edits., omitting the reference to Heb. 13. 20. 21.
[5] 'saith,' 3rd and sub.
[6] 'consented,' 7th edit.; 'contented,' sub. edits.
[7] 'instructions,' 3rd and sub.
[8] All Italics, 2nd and sub.
[9] 7th and sub. edits.
[10] 'gone,' 2nd and sub.
[11] 'and' omitted in 2nd and sub.
[12] 'bag,' in 2nd edit.; back, 3rd and sub.

things are, and how to be enjoyed, whither we are going?

† *God's things unspeakable.*[1] *Ch.* I can better conceive of them with my Mind, then speak of them with my Tongue: But yet since you are desirous to know, I will read of them in my Book.

Pli. *And do you think that the words of your Book are certainly true?*

† Tit 1. 2. *Ch.* Yes verily, for it was made by him that † cannot lye.

Plia. *Well said; what things are they?*

* Isa. 45. 17. John 10. 27, 28, 29. *Ch.* There is an * endless Kingdom to be Inhabited, and everlasting life to be given us; that we may Inhabit that Kingdom for ever.

Pli. *Well said; and what else?*

† 2 Tim. 4. 8. Rev. 3. 4. Matth. 13. [43.] *Chr.* There are Crowns of Glory to be given us;† and Garments that will make us shine like the Sun in the Firmâment of Heaven.

Plia. *This is* [2]*excellent; And what else?*

* Isa. 25. 8. Rev. 7. 16. 17. Chap. 21. 4. *Ch.* There shall be no more crying, * nor sorrow; For he that is owner of the [3]places, will wipe all tears from our eyes.

Pli. *And what company shall we have there?*

* Isa. 6. 2. 1 Thes. 4. 16, 17. [4] Rev. 7. 17. *Ch.* There we shall be with *Seraphims*,* and *Cherubins*, Creatures that will dazle your eyes to look on them: There also you shall meet with thousands, and ten thousands that have gone before us to that place; none of them are hurtful, but loving, and holy: every one walking in the sight of God; and standing in his presence with acceptance

† Rev. 4. 4. for ever: In a word, there we shall see the † Elders with their Golden Crowns: There we shall see the

* Chap. 14. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Holy * Virgins with their Golden Harps: there we

[a] Joh. 12. 25. shall see [a] Men that by the World were cut in

[1] First introduced in the 9th edit, 1684.

[2] 'This is very pleasant,' 8th and sub.

[3] 'place,' 2nd and sub.

[4] Altered in 3rd to 'Rev. 7. 57;' 8th and 9th to 'Rev. 5. 57;' and sub., to '5. 11,' which last is right.

pieces, [1] burned in flames, eaten of Beasts, [2] drowned in the Seas, for the love that they bare to the Lord of the place; all well, and cloathed with [b] Immortality, as with a Garment.

[b] 2 Cor. 5. 2, 3. 5.

Pli. *The hearing of this is enough to ravish ones heart; but are these things to be enjoyed? How shall we get to be Sharers* [3] *hereof?*

Ch. The Lord, the Governour of that Countrey, hath Recorded *that* [c] in this Book: The substance of which is, If we be truly willing to have it, he will bestow it upon us freely.

[c] Isa. 55. 12. Joh. 7. 37. Chap. 6. 37. Rev. 21. 6. Chap. 22. 17.

Pli. *Well, my good Companion, glad am I to hear of these things: Come on, let us mend our pace.*

Ch. I cannot go so fast as I would, by reason of this burden that is upon my back.

Now I saw in my Dream, that just as they had ended this talk, they drew near to a very *Miry Slough*, that was in the midst of the Plain, and they being heedless, did both fall suddenly into the bogg. The name of the Slow was *Dispond*. Here therefore they wallowed for a time, being grieviously bedaubed with the dirt; and *Christian*, because of the burden that was on his back, began to sink in the Mire.

'*The Slough of Despond.*' [4]

Pli. *Then said* Pliable, *Ah, Neighbour* Christian, *where are you now?*

Ch. Truly, said *Christian*, I do not know.

Pli. At that *Pliable* began to be offended; and angerly said to his Fellow, *Is this the happiness you have told me all this while of? if we have such ill speed at our first setting out, what may we expect, 'twixt this, and our Journeys end?* [d] *May I get out again with my life, you shall possess the brave Country alone for me.* And with that he gave a desperate struggle or two, and got out of the Mire, on that side of the Slough

[d] *It is not enough to be Pliable.*

[1] 'burnt,' 2nd and sub.
[2] 'drowned,' 3rd and sub.
[3] 'thereof,' 8th and sub.
[4] Introduced in the 8th edit. and sub.

which was next to his own House: So away he went, and *Christian* saw him no more.

Wherefore *Christian* was left to tumble in the Slough of [1] *Dispondency* alone, but still he endeavoured to struggle to that side of the Slough, that was still further [e]from his own House, and next to the Wicket-gate; the which he did, but could not get out, because of the burden that was upon his back. But I beheld in my Dream, that a Man came to him, whose name was *Help*, and asked him, *What he did there?*

[e] Christian *in trouble seeks still to get further from his own House.*

Chr. Sir, said *Christian*, I was [2]directed this way, by a man called *Evangelist;* who directed me also to yonder Gate, that I might escape the wrath to come: And as I was going thither, I fell in here.

Help. *But why did you not*[3] *look for* [f] *the steps?*

[f] *The Promises.*

Ch. Fear followed me so hard, that I fled the next way, and fell in.

Help. [4] 'Then, said he,' * *Give me thy hand!* So he gave him his hand, and [g] he drew him out, and set him upon sound ground, and bid him go on his way.

'* Help *lifts him out.*'

[g] Ps. 40. 2.

Then I stepped to him that pluckt him out; and said; Sir, Wherefore (since over this place, is the way from the City of *Destruction*, to yonder *Gate*) is it, that *this* Plat is not mended, that poor Travellers might go thither with more security? And he said unto me, this *Miry slough* is such a place as cannot be mended: It is the descent whither the scum and filth that attends conviction for sin, doth continually run, and therefore it is called the *Slough of Dispond:* for still as the sinner is awakened about his lost condition, there ariseth in his soul many fears, and doubts, and discouraging appre-

[5] '*What makes the Slough of Dispond.*'

[1] '*Despond*,' 2nd and sub.
[2] 'bid go,' 2nd and sub.
[3] '*not you*,' 2nd and sub.
[4] '*Then* said he,' first inserted in the 2nd edit.
[5] First inserted in the 2nd edit.

hensions, which all of them get together, and settle in this place: And this is the reason of the badness of this ground.

It is not the [h] pleasure of the King, that this place should remain so bad; his Labourers also, have by the direction of His Majesties Surveyors, been for above this sixteen hundred years, imploy'd about this patch of ground, if perhaps it might have been mended: yea, and to my knowledge, [1]saith he, *Here* hath been swallowed up, at least Twenty thousand Cart Loads; Yea Millions, of wholesom Instructions, that have at all seasons been brought from all places of the Kings Dominions; (and they that can tell, say, they are the best Materials to make good ground of the place;) If so be it might have been mended, but it is the *Slough of Dispond* still; and so will be, when they have done what they can. [h] Isa. 35. 3, 4.

True, there are by the direction of the Law-giver, certain good and substantial [i] Steps, placed even through the very midst of this *Slough;* but at such time as this place doth much spue out its filth, as it doth against change of weather, these steps are hardly seen; or if they be, Men through the diziness of their heads, step besides; and then they are bemired to purpose, notwithstanding the steps be there; but the ground is [k] good when they are once got in at the Gate. [i] *The Promises of forgiveness and acceptance to life by faith in Christ.* [k] 1 Sa. 12. 23.

Now I saw in my Dream, that by this time *Pliable* was got home to his House [3]again: So his Neighbours came to visit him; and some of them called him wise Man for coming back; and some called him Fool, for hazarding himself with *Christian;* others again did mock at his Cowardliness; saying, Surely since you began to venture, I

* '*Plyable got home and is visited of his Neighbors.*' [2]

† '*His entertainment by them at his return.*' [4]

[1] 'said,' 2nd and sub.
[2] First inserted in the 2nd edit.
[3] 'again,' omitted in the 9th, 1684, and sub. edits.
[4] Third and sub. edits.

would not have been so base to have given out for a few difficulties. So *Pliable* sat sneaking among them. But at last he got more confidence, and then they all turned their [1] tales, and began to deride poor *Christian* behind his back.

And thus much concerning *Pliable*.

[2]‘ Now as Christian was walking [3] solitary by ‘ himself, he espied one afar off come crossing over ‘ the field * to meet him; and their hap was to ‘ meet [4] just as they were crossing the way of each ‘ other.[4] The Gentleman's name [5]‘ that met him,’ ‘ was, Mr. *Worldly-Wiseman*, he dwelt in the Town ‘ of *Carnal-Policy*, a very great Town, and also ‘ hard by, from whence [6] Christian came. This ‘ man then meeting with [6] Christian, and having ‘ some inckling of him, for [6] Christians setting forth ‘ from the City of *Destruction*, was much noised ‘ abroad, not only in the Town, where he dwelt, ‘ but also it began to be the *Town*-talk in some ‘ other places. Master *Worldly-Wiseman* therefore, ‘ having some guess of him, by beholding his labo- ‘ rious going, by observing his sighs and groans, ‘ and the like, began thus to enter into some talk ‘ with *Christian*.

* Mr. Worldly-Wiseman *meets* with Christian.

Talk betwixt Mr. Worldly-Wiseman *and* Christian.

‘ World. *How now, good fellow, whither away after ‘ this burdened manner?*

‘ *Chr.* A burdened manner indeed, as ever I ‘ think poor creature had. And whereas you ask ‘ me, *Whither away*, I tell you, Sir, I am going to ‘ yonder Wicket-gate before me; for there, as I am ‘ informed, I shall be put into a way to be rid of ‘ my heavy burden.

‘ Worl. *Hast thou a Wife and Children?*

[1] ‘tailes,’ 7th edit.

[2] All this interview with Worldly-Wiseman, and its consequences, as marked with inverted commas, first appeared in the 2nd edit.

[3] ‘solitarily,’ 7th and sub.

[4] to [4] Italics, 3rd and sub.

[5] Inserted in the 8th and sub. edits.

[6] ‘Christian,’ Italics after 7th edit.

'*Chr.* Yes, but I am so laden with this burden, 'that I cannot take that pleasure in them as for- 'merly: methinks, I am as if *I had none. * 1 Cor 7. 29.

'Worl. *Wilt thou hearken to me, if I give thee 'counsel?*

'*Chr.* If it be good, I will; for I stand in need 'of good counsel.

'Worl. *I would advise thee then, that thou with all* '*speed get thy self rid of thy burden; for thou wilt* '*never be settled in thy mind till then: nor canst thou* '*enjoy the benefits of the blessing which God hath be-* '*stowed upon thee till then.* '*Mr.* Worldly-Wiseman. *Counsel to* Christian.'

'*Chr.* That is that which I seek for, even to be 'rid of this heavy burden; but get it off my self I 'cannot: nor is there a man in our Country that 'can take it off my shoulders; therefore am I going 'this way, as I told you, that I may be rid of my 'burden.

'Worl. *Who bid thee go this way to be rid of thy 'burden?*

'*Chr.* A man that appeared to me to be a very 'great and honorable person; his name, as I re- 'member is *Evangelist.*

'Worl. *[1]I beshrow him for his counsel; there is* '*not a more dangerous and troublesome way in the* '*world, than is that unto which he hath directed thee;* '*and that thou shalt find if thou wilt be ruled by his* '*counsel: Thou hast met with something (as I per-* '*ceive) already; for I see the dirt of the* Slough of 'Dispond *is upon thee; but that Slough is the begin-* '*ning of the sorrows that do attend those that go on* '*in that way: hear me, I am older than thou! thou* '*art like to meet with in the way which thou goest,* '*Wearisomness, Painfulness, Hunger, Perils, Naked-* '*ness, Sword, Lions, Dragons, Darkness, and in a* '*word, death, and what not? These things are cer-* '*tainly true, having been confirmed by many testimo-* '*Mr.* Worldly-Wiseman *Condemned* Evangelists *Counsel.*'[1]

[1] Inserted in the 3rd and sub.

'nies. *And why should a man so carelesly cast away*
'*himself, by giving* [1]*head to a stranger.*

'*Chr.* Why, Sir, this burden upon my back is
'more terrible to me than are all these things which
'*The frame of the heart of young Christians.*' 'you have mentioned: * nay, methinks I care not
'what I meet with in the way, so be I can also meet
'with deliverance from my burden.

'Worl. *How camest thou by* [2]*thy burden at first?*

'*Chr.* By reading this Book in my hand.

* 'Worldly-Wiseman *does not like that Men should be Serious in reading the Bible.*' [3] 'Worl. *I thought so; and it is happened unto thee*
'*as to other weak men, who meddling with things too*
'*high for them, do suddenly fall into thy distractions;*
'*which distractions do not only unman men, (as thine*
'*I perceive has done thee) but they run them upon*
'*desperate ventures, to obtain they know not what.*

'*Chr.* I know what I would obtain; it is case
'for my heavy burden.

'*Whether Mr.* Worldly *prefers* Morality *before the* Straight Gate' [3] 'Worl. *But why wilt thou seek for ease this way,*
'*seeing so many dangers attend it, especially, since*
'*(hadst thou but patience to hear me,) I could direct*
'*thee to the obtaining of what thou desirest, without*
'*the dangers that thou in this way wilt run thy self*
'*into: yea, and the remedy is at hand. Besides, I*
'*will add, that instead of those dangers, thou shalt*
'*meet with much safety, friendship, and content.*

'*Chr.* Pray, Sir open this secret to me.

'Worl. *Why in yonder Village, (the Village is*
'*named* Morality) *there dwells a Gentleman, whose*
'*name is* Legality, *a very judicious man (and a man*
'*of a very good name) that has skill to help men off*
'*with such burdens as thine are, from their shoulders:*
'*yea, to my knowledge he hath done a great deal of*
'*good this way: Ai, and besides, he hath skill to*
'*cure those that are somewhat crazed in their wits*
'*with their burdens. To him, as I said, thou mayest*
'*go, and be helped presently. His house is not quite*

[1] 'heed,' 7th and sub.
[2] 'the burden,' 7th edit. and sub.
[3] In 3rd and sub.

'*a mile from this place; and if he should not be at*
'*home himself, he hath a pretty young man to his Son,*
'*whose name is* Civility, *that can do it (to speak on)*
'*as well as the old Gentleman himself: There, I say,*
'*thou mayest be eased of thy burden, and if thou art*
'*not minded to go back to thy former habitation, as*
'*indeed I would not wish thee, thou mayest send for*
'*thy Wife and Children to thee to this Village, where*
'*there are houses now stand empty, one of which thou*
'*mayest have at reasonable rates: Provision is there*
'*also cheap and good, and that which will make thy*
'*life the more happy, is, to be sure there thou shalt*
'*live by honest neighbors, in credit and good fashion.*

'Now was *Christian* somewhat at a stand, but
'presently he concluded; if this be true which this
'Gentleman hath said, my wisest course is to take
'his advice, and with that he thus farther spoke.

'‖ Christian *Snared by Mr.* Worldly Wiseman's words.'[1]

'*Chr.* Sir, which is my way to this honest man's
'house?

'Worl. *Do you see yonder * high hill?*

'* *Mount* Sinai.

'*Chr.* Yes, very well.

'*Worl.* By that *Hill* you must go, and the first
'house you come at is his.

'So *Christian* turned out of his way to go to Mr.
'*Legality's* house for help: but behold, when he
'was got now hard by the *Hill*, it seemed so high,
'and also that side of it that was next the way
'side, did hang so much over, that Christian was
'* afraid to venture further, lest the *Hill* should
'fall on his head: wherefore there he stood still,
'and he [2]wot not what to do. Also his burden, *now*,
'seemed heavier to him, than while he was in his
'way. There came also † flashes of fire out of the
'Hill, that made * *Christian* afraid that he should
'be burned: here therefore he swet, and did quake
'for † fear. And now he began to be sorry that
'he had taken Mr. *Worldly-Wisemans* counsel; and

'* *Christian afraid that Mount* Sinai *would fall on his head.*

† Exod. 19 18.

* Ver. 16.

†Heb.12.11.[3]

[1] In 3rd and sub. edits.

[2] 'and wotted,' 3rd and sub. edits.

[3] All the edits. refer to Heb. 12. v. 11: it should be 12. v. 21.

'* Evangelist *findeth* Christian *under Mount* Sinai, *and looketh severely upon him.*

'with that he saw **Evangelist* coming to meet him; 'at the sight also of whom he began to blush for 'shame. So *Evangelist* drew nearer, and nearer, 'and coming up to him, he looked upon him with 'a severe and dreadful countenance: and thus be-'gan to reason with *Christian*.

'† Evangelist *reasons afresh with* Christian.

'*Evan.* † What doest thou here? '*Christian*,'[1] 'said he? at which word[2] *Christian* knew not what 'to answer: wherefore, at present he stood speech-'less before him. Then said *Evangelist* farther, *Art 'not thou the man that I found crying without the 'walls of the City of* Destruction?

'*Chr.* Yes, dear Sir, I am the man.

'Evan. *Did not I direct thee the way to the little 'Wicket-gate?*

'*Chr.* Yes, dear Sir, said *Christian.*

'Evan. *How is it then that thou art so quickly 'turned aside, for thou art now out of the way?*

'*Chr.* I met with a Gentleman, so soon as I had 'got over the *Slough of Dispond*, who perswaded 'me, that I might in the *Village* before me, find a 'man that could take off my burden.

'Evan. *What was he?*

'*Chr.* He looked like a Gentleman, and talked 'much to me, and got me at last to yield; so I 'came hither: but when I beheld this Hill, and 'how it hangs over the way, I suddenly made a 'stand, lest it should fall on my head.

'Evan. *What said that Gentleman to you?*

'*Chr.* Why, he asked me whither I was going, 'and I told him.

'Evan. *And what said he then?*

'*Chr.* He asked me if I had a Family, and 'I told him: but, said I, I am so loaden with the 'burden that is on my back, that I cannot take 'pleasure in them as formerly.

'Evan. *And what said he then?*

[1] Introduced in the 8th and sub. edits.

[2] 'words,' 3rd and sub.

'*Chr.* He bid me with speed get rid of my bur-
'den, and I told him, 'twas ease that I sought:
'And said I, I am therefore going to yonder *Gate*
'to receive further direction how I may get to the
'place of deliverance. So he said that he would
'shew me a better way, and short, not so attended
'with difficulties, as the way, Sir, that you set me
'[1]'in': which way, said he, will direct you to a
'Gentleman's house that hath skill to take off these
'burdens: So I believed him, and turned out of
'[2]that way into [2]this, if haply I might be soon
'eased of my burden: but when I came to this
'place, and beheld things as they are, I stopped for
'fear, (as I said) of danger: but I now know not
'what to do.

'Evan. *Then* (said Evangelist) *stand still a little,*
'*that I may shew thee the words of God.* So he
'stood trembling. *Then* (said Evangelist) * *See* * Heb. 12. 25.
'*that ye refuse not him that speaketh; for if they*
'*escaped not who refused him that spake on Earth,*
'* *much more shall not we escape, if we turn away* '* Evang. convinces Christian of his Error.'[3]
'*from him that speaketh from Heaven. He said*
'*moreover,* * *Now the just shall live by faith; but if* '* Chap. 10. 38.
'*any man draws back, my soul shall have no pleasure*
'*in him., He also did thus apply them, Thou art the*
'*man that art running into this misery, thou hast be-*
'*gan to reject the counsel of the most high, and to*
'*draw back thy foot from the way of peace, even*
'*almost to the hazarding of thy perdition.*

'Then *Christian* fell down at his foot as dead,
'crying, Wo is me, for I am undone: at the sight
'of which *Evangelist* caught him by the right hand,
'saying, all manner of sin and blasphemies shall [4]*Math. xij.*
'be forgiven unto men; be not faithless, but be- [4]*Mark* 3.

[1] 'in,' added in the 9th, 1684, and sub.
[2] 'that,' 'this,' italics, 9th, 1684, and sub.
[3] Added in the 3rd and sub.
[4] Omitted in the 9th and 10th edits.



When Christians unto carnal men give ear,
Out of their way they go, and pay for't dear,
For master *Worldly-Wiseman* can but shew
A Saint the way to Bondage and to woe.

Copied from the edition of 1692.

'lieving; then did *Christian* again a little revive, 'and stood up trembling, as at first, before '*Evangelist.*

'Then *Evangelist* proceeded, saying, *Give more 'earnest heed to the things that I shall tell thee of.* I 'will now shew thee who it was that deluded thee, 'and who 'twas also to whom he sent thee. The 'man that met thee, is one *Worldly-Wiseman*, and 'rightly is he so called; partly, * because he 'savoureth only the Doctrine of this world (there- 'fore he always goes to the Town of [2]*Mortality* to 'Church) and partly † because he loveth that 'Doctrine best, for it saveth him from the Cross; 'and because he is of this carnal temper, therefore 'he seeketh to [4] prevent my ways, though right. 'Now there are three things in this mans counsel 'that thou must utterly abhor:

'1. His turning thee out of the way.

'2. His labouring to render the Cross odious to 'thee.

'3. And his setting thy feet in that way that 'leadeth unto the administration of Death.

'First, Thou must abhor his turning thee out of 'the way; yea, and thine own consenting thereto: 'because this is to reject the counsel of God, for 'the sake of the counsel of a *Worldly-Wiseman.* 'The Lord says, **Strive to enter in at the strait 'gate*, the gate to which I [5] sent thee; *for strait is 'the gate that leadeth unto life, and few there be that 'find it.* From this little wicket-gate, and from 'the way thereto hath this wicked man turned 'thee, to the bringing of thee almost to destruc- 'tion; hate therefore his turning thee out of the 'way, and abhor thyself for hearkening to him.

'† *Mr.* Worldly-Wiseman *described by* Evang.[1] '*1John 4. 5.

'†Gal. 6.12.[3]

'*Evang *discovers the deceit of* Mr. Worldly Wiseman.'[1]

'*Luke 13. 24. Matt. 7. 13, 14.

[1] Inserted in 3rd and sub. edits.

[2] Altered to *Morality* in 8th and sub. edits.

[3] Misprinted in 2nd, Gol., and many sub., Col.

[4] 8th and sub. edits.: 'pervert.'

[5] 'send,' 3rd and sub. edits.

'Secondly, Thou must abhor his labouring to 'render the Cross odious unto thee; for thou art
* Heb. 11. 25, 26. † Mark 8. 35. John 12. 25. Mat. 10. 39. * Luke 14. 26.
'to **prefer it before the treasures* [1] *of Egypt:* be-'sides, the King of Glory hath told thee, † that he 'that will save his life, shall lose it: and ** he that 'comes after him, and hates not his father and 'mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and 'sisters; yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my 'Disciple.* I say therefore, for a man to labour to 'perswade thee, that that shall be thy death, with-'out which the truth hath said, thou canst not 'have eternal life, This Doctrine thou must 'abhor.

'Thirdly, Thou must hate his setting of 'thy feet in the way that leadeth to the 'ministration of death. And for this thou 'must consider to whom he sent thee, and also 'how unable that person was to deliver thee from 'thy burden.

'He to whom thou was sent for ease being by
'*Gal. 4. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27.
'name *Legality*, is the Son of the * Bond-woman 'which now is, and is in bondage with her children,
'† *The Bond-Woman.*' [2]
'and is in a mystery this Mount *Sinai*, which 'thou hast feared will fall on thy head. Now if 'she with her children are in bondage, how canst 'thou expect by them to be made free? This '*Legality* therefore is not able to set thee free from 'thy burden. No man was as yet ever rid of his bur-'den by him, no, nor ever is like to be: ye cannot 'be justified by the Works of the Law; for by the 'deeds of the Law no man living can be rid of 'his burden: therefore Mr. *Worldly-Wiseman* 'is an alien, and Mr. *Legality* '[3]is' a cheat: and for 'his [4]own *Civility*, notwithstanding his simpering 'looks, he is but an hypocrite, and cannot help 'thee. Believe me, there is nothing in all this

[1] 'in Egypt,' 3rd and sub. edits.
[2] In 3rd and sub. edits.
[3] 'is,' inserted in the 8th and sub. edits.
[4] 'his Son,' in all sub. edits.

'noise, that thou hast heard of this sottish man[1], but 'a design to beguile thee of thy Salvation, by turning thee from the way in which I had set thee. 'After this *Evangelist* called aloud to the Heavens 'for confirmation of what he had said; and with 'that there came words and fire out of the Mountain under which poor Christian stood, that made 'the hair of his flesh stand [2]'up.' The words 'were thus pronounced, *As many as are of the* Gal. 3. 10.'[3] '*works of the Law, are under the curse; for it is* '*written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all* '*things which are written in the Book of the Law to* '*do them.*

'Now *Christian* looked for nothing but death, 'and began to cry out lamentably, even cursing 'the time in which he met with Mr. *Worldly-Wise-*'*man*, still calling himself a thousand fools for 'hearkening to his counsel: he also was greatly 'ashamed to think that this Gentlemans arguments, 'flowing only from the flesh, should have that prevalency with him [4]'as to cause him' to forsake 'the right way. This done, he applied himself 'again to *Evangelist* in words and sense as follows.

'*Chr.* Sir, what think you? is there hopes? 'Christian *Enquired if he may yet be Happy.*'[6] 'may I now go back, and go up to the *Wicket-gate*, 'shall I not be abandoned for this, and sent back 'from thence ashamed. I am sorry I have hearkened to this man's counsel, but may my sin be 'forgiven.

'*Evang.* Then said *Evangelist* to him, Thy sin is 'very great, for by it thou hast committed two 'evils; thou hast forsaken the way that is good, to 'tread in forbidden paths: yet will the man [5]of 6'‡ Evangelist *comforts him.*' 'the Gate receive thee, for he has good will for

[1] 'this sottish men,' 3rd; 'these sottish men,' sub. edits.
[2] 'up,' inserted in 8th and sub. edits.
[3] Reference in the 2nd and 3rd edits. is to Solom. 3. 10; but corrected in sub. edits.
[4] Inserted after the 2nd edit.
[5] 'at the Gate' sub. edits.
[6] Added after the 2nd edit.

'men; only, said he, take heed that thou turn not 'aside again, lest thou perish from the way when [1] 'his wrath is kindled but a little. Then did 'Christian address himself to go back, and *Evan-* 'gelist, after he had [2] kept him, gave him one 'smile, and bid him God speed: so he went on 'with hast, neither spake he to any man by the 'way; nor if any [3] man asked him, would he 'vouchsafe them an answer. He went like one 'that was all the while treading on forbidden 'ground, and could by no means think himself 'safe, till again he was got into the way which he 'left to follow Mr. *Worldly-Wiseman's* counsel.' [4] By this time, *Christian* was got up to the Gate. Now over the Gate there was Written, *Knock and* [1] Matt. 7. 8 *it shall be opened unto you.*[1] He knocked therefore, more then once or twice, saying,

[1] 'Psalm 2. last.'

May I now enter here? will he within
Open to sorry me, though I have [5] *bin*
An undeserving Rebel? then shall I
Not fail to sing his lasting praise on high.

At last there came a grave Person to the Gate, named *Good-will*, who asked *Who was there? and whence he came? and what he would have?*

Ch. Here is a poor burdened sinner. I come from the City of *Destruction*, but am going to Mount *Zion*, that I may be delivered from the wrath to come; I would therefore, Sir, since I am informed that by this Gate is the way thither, know if you are *willing* to let me in.

[m] *The Gate will be opened to broken hearted sinners.*

Good Will.[m] I am *willing* with all my heart, said he; and with that he opened the Gate.

[1] Added after the 2nd edit.
[2] 'kist,' sub. edits.
[3] 'man,' omitted from the 9th, 1684, and sub. edits.
[4] 2nd and sub. edits., 'so in process of time *Christian* got up to the Gate.' An alteration rendered needful by this long addition to the text in the 2nd edit.
[5] 'been,' 2nd and sub. edits.



He that will enter in must first without
Stand knocking at the Gate, nor need he doubt
That is a knocker but to enter in;
For God can love him, and forgive his sin.

Copied from the edition of 1692.

So, when *Christian* was [1]stepping in, the other gave him a pull; Then said *Christian*, What means that? The other told him, A little distance from this Gate, there is erected a strong Castle, of which[n] *Beelzebub* is the Captain: from thence both he, and them that are with him shoot Arrows at those that come up to this Gate; if happily they may dye before they can enter in. Then said *Christian*, I rejoyce and tremble. So when he was got in, the Man of the Gate asked him, Who directed him thither?

[n] *Satan envies those that enter the straight Gate.*

'Christian *Entred the Gate with Joy and trembling.*'[2]

Ch. ‖ *Evangelist* bid me come hither and knock, (as I did;) And he said, that you, Sir, would tell me what I must do.

'‖ *Talk between* G. Will *and* Christian.'[2]

Good Will. *An open Door is set before thee, and no man can shut it.*

Ch. Now I begin to reap the benefits of my [3]hazzards.

Good Will. *But how is it that you came alone?*

Ch. Because none of my Neighbours saw their danger, as I saw mine.

Good Will. *Did any of them know of your coming?*

Ch. Yes, my Wife and Children saw me at the first, and called after me to turn again: Also some of my Neighbours stood crying, and calling after me to return; but I put my Fingers in [4]mine Ears, and so came on my way.

Good Will. *But did none of them follow you, to perswade you to go back?*

Ch. Yes, both, *Obstinate*, and *Pliable*: But when they saw that they could not prevail, *Obstinate* went railing back; but *Pliable* came with me a little way.

Good Will. *But why did he not come through?*

Ch. We indeed came both together, until we

[1] 'slipping,' 7th edit.
[2] Introduced after the 2nd edit.
[3] 'hazards,' 2nd and sub.
[4] 'my,' 2nd and sub.

came at the [1]Slow of *Dispond*, into the which, we also suddenly fell. And then was my Neighbour *Pliable* discouraged, and would not adventure further.° Wherefore getting out again, on that side next to his own House; he told me, I should possess the brave Countrey alone for him: So he went his way, and I came mine. *He* after *Obstinate*, and I to this Gate.

°*A Man may have Company when he sets out for Heaven, & yet go thither alone,*

Good Will. Then said *Good Will*, Alass poor Man, is the Cælestial Glory of so small esteem with him, that he counteth it not worth running the hazards of a few difficulties to obtain it.

[2]'*Chr.* Truly, said *Christian*, I have said the 'truth of *Pliable*, and if I should also say '[3]all' the 'truth of my self, it will appear there is *no better- 'ment 'twixt him and my self. 'Tis true, he went 'back to his own house, but I also turned aside to 'go in the way of death, being perswaded thereto 'by the carnal [4]arguments of one Mr. *Worldly-'Wiseman.*

'* *Christian accuseth himself before the man at the Gate.*'

'*Good Will.* Oh, did he light upon you! what, 'he would have had you a sought for ease at the 'hands of Mr. *Legality;* they are both of them a 'very cheat: but did you take his counsel?

'*Chr.* Yes, as far as I durst, I went to[5] find out '['6]Mr.' *Legality*, until I thought that the Mountain 'that stands by his house, would have fallen upon 'my head: wherefore there I was forced to stop.

'*Good Will.* That Mountain has been the death 'of many, and will be the death of many more: '''tis well you escaped being by it dasht in pieces.

'*Chr.* Why, truly I do not know what had be-

[1] Slough, 2nd and sub.

[2] So far as the text is marked by an inverted comma, it was first introduced into the 2nd edit.

[3] Inserted after the 2nd edit.

[4] Misprinted 'agreement' in 3rd, 7th, 8th, and 9th, 1683.

[5] By a typ. error, the 2nd edit. is printed, 'I went not to find.'

[6] 'Mr.' omitted in the 2nd edit., but inserted subsequently.

'come of me there, had not *Evangelist* happily met 'me again as I was musing in the midst of my '*dumps:* but 'twas Gods mercythat he came to 'me again, for else I had never come hither. But 'now I am come, such a one as I am, more fit in-'deed for death by that Mountain, than thus to 'stand talking with my Lord: But [1]O, what a 'favour is this to me, that yet I am admitted en-'trance here.

'Christ. *comforted again.*' [2]

'*Good Will.* We make no objections against 'any, notwithstanding all that they have done

* John 6. 37.

'before they come hither, *they in no [3]wise are 'cast out,[4] Well,[5] good *Christian*, come a little way with me, and I will teach thee about the way

'Christ. *directed yet on his way.*' [2]

thou must go. Look before thee; dost thou see this narrow way? [6]That is the way thou must go. It was cast up by the Patriarchs, Prophets, Christ, 'and'[7] his Apostles; and it is as straight as a Rule can make it: This is the way thou must go.

'2† Christ. *afraid of losing his way.*'

Ch. But said *Christian*, [8]*Is there no turnings nor windings by which a Stranger may loose the way?*

Good Will. Yes, there are many ways [9]*Butt* down upon this; and they are Crooked, and Wide: But *thus* thou may'st distinguish the right from the

'* [11] Mat. 7. 14.'

wrong, *That*[10] only being * straight and narrow.

‖ Christian *weary of his burden.*

Then I saw in my Dream, ‖ That *Christian* asked him further, If he could not help him off with his burden that was upon his back; For as yet he had

[1] 'Oh!' sub. edits.
[2] Inserted after the 2nd edit.
[3] 'ways,' 7th edit.
[4] Quotation in italics after the 7th edit.
[5] 'and therefore, good *Christian*,' 2nd and sub. edits.
[6] 'THAT' in capitals, 2nd and sub. edits.
[7] 'and' inserted in 2nd and sub. edits.
[8] '*are*' after the 3rd edit.
[9] 'BUTT' in 3rd and sub. edits.
[10] 'The right,' after the 2nd edit.
[11] First inserted in the 2nd edit.

not got rid thereof, nor could he by any means get it off without help.

He told him; As to [1]the burden, be content to bear it, untill thou comest to the *place* of [p]Deliverance; for there it will fall from thy back it self.

[p] *There is no deliverance from the guilt and burden of sin, but by the death & blood of Christ.*

Then *Christian* began to gird up his loins, and to address himself to his Journey. So the other told him, that by that he was gone some distance from the Gate, he would come at the House of the *Interpreter;* at whose Door he should knock; and he would shew him excellent things. Then *Christian* took his leave of his Friend, and he again bid him, God speed.

Then he went on, till he came at the House of the [q]*Interpreter*, where he knocked over and over: at last one came to the Door, and asked *Who was there?*

[q] *Christian comes to the House of the Interpreter.*

Ch. Sir, here is a [2]Travailer, who was bid by an acquaintance of the Good-man of this House, to call here for my profit: I would therefore speak with the Master of the House: so he called for the Master of the House; who after a little time came to *Christian*, and asked him what he would have?

Ch. Sir, said *Christian*, I am a Man that am come from the City of *Destruction*, and am going to the Mount *Zion*, and I was told by the Man that stands at the Gate, at the head of this way, That if I called here, you would shew me excellent things, [r]such as would be an help to me in my Journey.

[r] *He is entertained.*

Inter. Then said the *Interpreter*, [s]Come in, I will shew thee that which will be profitable to thee. So he commanded his Man to light the Candle, and bid *Christian* follow him; so he had him into a private Room, and bid his Man open a Door; the

[s] *Illumination.*

[1] 'thy' burden, 2nd and sub. edits.

[2] 'Traveller,' 2nd and sub. edits.

which when he had done, [t]*Christian* saw a [1]Picture of a very grave Person hang up against the Wall, and this was the fashion of it. [u]*It had eyes* [2]*lift up to Heaven, the best of Books in* [3]*its hand, the Law of Truth was written upon* [4]*its lips, the World was behind his back; it stood as if it Pleaded with Men, and a Crown of Gold did hang over its head.*

[t] Christian sees a brave Picture.

[u] The fashion of the Picture.

Ch. *Then said* Christian, *What means this?*

Inter. The Man whose Picture this is, is one of a thousand, he can[x] beget Children, Travel in birth with Children, and [y]Nurse them himself, when they are born. And whereas thou seest[z] him with [6]eyes lift up to Heaven, the best of Books in his hand, and the Law of Truth writ on his lips: it is to shew thee, that his work is to know and unfold dark things to sinners; even as also thou seest [a]him stand as if he Pleaded with Men: And whereas thou seest the World as cast behind him, and that a Crown hangs over his head; that is, to shew thee that slighting and despising the things that are present, for the love that he hath to his Masters service, he is sure in the World that comes next to have Glory for his Reward: Now, said the *Interpreter*, I have shewed thee this Picture first, [b]because the Man whose Picture this is, is the only Man, whom the Lord of the Place whither thou art going, hath Authorized, to be thy Guide in all difficult places thou mayest meet with in the way: wherefore take good heed to what I have shewed thee, and bear well in thy mind what thou hast seen; lest in thy Journey, thou meet with some that pretend to lead thee right, but their way goes down to death.

[x] 1 Cor. 4. 15.

[y] Gal. 4. 19.

[z] 2 Thess. 2. 7.

[a] The meaning of the Picture.

[b] Why he shewed him the Picture first.

Then he took him by the hand, and led him into

[1] 'the Picture,' 2nd and sub. edits.

[2] 'lifted,' 2nd and sub. edits.

[3] 'his,' 2nd and sub., except 8th, 9th, 1684; and 10th.

[4] 'his' after 2nd edit.

[5] Omitted in 3rd and sub. edits.

[6] 'his eyes,' 2nd and sub. edits.

a very large *Parlour* that was full of dust, because never swept; the which, after he had reviewed a little while, the *Interpreter* called for a man to *sweep:* Now when he began to sweep, the dust began so abundantly to fly about, that *Christian* had almost therewith been choaked: Then said the *Interpreter* to a *Damsel* that stood by, Bring hither 'the'[1] Water, and sprinkle the Room; 'the'[2] which when she had done, 'it'[3] was swept and cleansed with pleasure.

Ch. *Then said* Christian, *What means this?*

In. The *Interpreter* answered; this Parlor is the heart of a Man that was never sanctified by the sweet Grace of the Gospel: The *dust*, is his Original Sin, and inward Corruptions that have defiled the whole Man; He that began to sweep at first, is the Law; but She that brought water, and did sprinkle it, is the Gospel: Now, whereas thou sawest that so soon as the first began to sweep, the dust did so fly about that the Room by him could not be cleansed, but that thou wast almost choaked therewith. This is to shew thee, that the Law, instead of cleansing the heart (by its working) from sin, [d]doth revive, put [e]strength into, and [f]increase it in the soul, [4]'even' as it doth discover and forbid it, [5]but doth not give power to subdue.

[d] Rom. 7. 6.
[e] 1 Cor. 15. 56.
[f] Ro. 5. 20.

Again, as thou sawest the *Damsel* sprinkle the Room with Water, upon which it was cleansed with pleasure: This is to shew thee, that when the Gospel comes in the sweet and precious influences thereof to the heart, then I say, even as thou sawest the Damsel lay the dust by sprinkling the Floor with Water, so is sin vanquished and subdued, and

[1] 'the,' added to the 2nd edit.
[2] 'the which,' 3rd and sub. edits.
[3] 'it,' added after the 2nd edit.
[4] 'even,' added after the 2nd edit.
[5] Instead of 'but,' the 3rd and sub. edits. read 'for it.'

the soul made clean, through the Faith of it, and consequently [g]fit for the King of Glory to inhabit.

I saw moreover in my Dream,[h] that the *Interpreter* took him by the hand, and had him into a little Room, where sat two little Children, each one in his Chair: The name of the eldest was *Passion*, and [2]'the name' of the other *Patience*; *Passion* seemed to be much discontent, but *Patience* was very quiet. Then *Christian* asked, What is the reason of the discontent of *Passion?* The *Interpreter* answered, The Governour of them would have him stay for his best things till the beginning of the next year; but he will have all now: [i]But *Patience* is willing to wait.

Then I saw that one came to [k]*Passion*, and brought him a Bag of Treasure, and poured it down at his feet; the which he took up, and rejoyced therein; and withall, laughed *Patience* to scorn: But I beheld but a while, and he had [l]lavished all away, and had nothing left him but Rags.

Ch. *Then said* Christian *to the* Interpreter, [m]*Expound this matter more fully to me.*

In. So he said, These two Lads are Figures; *Passion*, of the Men of *this* World; and *Patience*, of the Men of *that* which is to come: For as here thou seest, *Passion will have all now*, this year; that is to say, in *this* World; *So* are the Men of this World: they must have all their good things now, they cannot stay till next *Year;* that is, untill the *next* World, for their Portion of good. That Proverb, *A* [n]*Bird in the Hand is worth two in the Bush*, is of more Authority with them, than are all the Divine Testimonies of the good of the World to come. But as thou sawest, that he had quickly lavished all away, and had presently left him, no-

[g] Joh. 15. 3. Eph. 5. 26. Act. 15. 9. Rom. 16. 25, 26. Joh. 15. 13.

[h] *He shewed him* Passion *and* Patience.

Passion *will have* [1] *all now.*

[i] Patience *is for waiting.*

[k] Passion *has his desire.*

[l] *And quickly lavishes all away.*

[m] *The matter expounded.*

[n] *The World ly Man for a Bird in the hand.*

[1] 'it now,' 3rd and sub. edits.

[2] 'the name' added after the 2nd edit.

thing but Raggs[1]; So will it be with all such Men at the end of this World.

Ch. *Then said* Christian, *Now I see that* Patience *has the best* [o]*Wisdom; and that upon many accounts.* 1. *Because he stays for the best things.* 2. *And also because he will have the Glory of* His, *when the other hath nothing but Raggs.*[1]

[o] Patience *had the best Wisdom.*

In. Nay, you may add another; to wit, The glory of the *next* World will never wear out; but these are suddenly gone. Therefore *Passion* had not so much reason to laugh at *Patience,* because he had his good things first, as *Patience* will have to laugh at *Passion,* because he had his best things *last;* for *first* must give place to *last,* because *last* must have his time to come, but *last* gives place to *nothing;* for there is not another to succeed: he therefore that hath his Portion *first,* must needs have a time to spend it; but he that has his Portion *last,* must have it lastingly. Therefore it is said of [q]*Dives, In thy lifetime thou hadest,*[2] *or receivedest thy good things, and likewise* Lazarus *evil things; But now he is comforted, and thou art tormented.*

Things that are first must give place, but things that are last, are lasting.

[q] Luk. 16. Dives *had his good things first.*

Ch. *Then I perceive, 'tis not best to covet things that are* now; *but to wait for things to* come.

In. You say [3]the Truth; *For the things that are seen, are* Temporal; *but the things that are not seen, are* Eternal: But though this be so; yet since things present, and our fleshly appetite, *are such near Neighbours one to another;* and again, because things to come, and carnal sense, are such strangers one to another: therefore it is, that the first of these so suddenly fall into *amity,* and that *distance* is so continued between the second.

2 Cor. 4. 18. *The first things are but Temporal.*

Then I saw in my Dream, that the *Interpreter* took *Christian* by the hand, and led him into a

[1] 'Rags,' 2nd and sub. edits.
[2] 'Hadest, or,' omitted in 2nd and sub. edits.
[3] 'the,' omitted in 2nd and sub. edits.

place, where was a Fire burning against a Wall, and one standing by it always, casting much Water upon it to quench it: Yet did the Fire burn higher and hotter.

Then said Christian, *What means this?*

The *Interpreter* answered, This fire is the work of Grace that is wrought in the heart; he that casts Water upon it, to extinguish and put it out, is the *Devil:* but in that thou seest the fire notwithstanding burn higher and hotter, thou shalt also see the reason of that: So he had him about to the back side of the Wall, where he saw a Man with a Vessel of Oyl in his hand, of the which he did also continually cast [1](but secretly,) into the fire. Then said *Christian, What means this?* The *Interpreter* answered, This is *Christ*, who continually with the Oyl of his Grace, maintains the work already begun in the heart; By the means of which, notwithstanding what the Devil can do, the
2 Cor. 12. 9. souls of his People prove gracious still. And in that thou sawest, that the Man stood behind the Wall to maintain the fire; this is to teach thee, that it is hard for the tempted to see how this work of Grace is maintained in the soul.

I saw also that the *Interpreter* took him again by the hand, and led him into a pleasant place, where was builded a stately Palace, beautiful to behold; at the sight of which, *Christian* was greatly delighted; he saw also upon the top thereof, certain Persons [2]walked, who were cloathed all in Gold. Then said *Christian*, May we go in thither? Then the *Interpreter* took him, and led him up toward the door of the Palace; and behold, at the door stood a great Company of men, as desirous to go in, but durst not. There also sat a Man, at a little distance from the door, at a Table-side, with a

[1] () Added in 2nd and sub. edits.

[2] 'walking,' 2nd and sub. edits.

Book, and his Inkhorn before him, to take the Name of him that should enter therein: He saw also that in the door-way, stood many Men in Armour to keep it; being resolved to do to the [1]Man that [2]would enter, what hurt and mischief they could. Now was *Christian* somewhat in [3]a muse: at last, when every Man started back for fear of the Armed Men; *Christian* saw a Man of a very stout countenance come up to the Man that sat there to write; saying, Set down my name, Sir, the which when he had done, he saw the Man draw his Sword, and put an Helmet upon his Head, and rush toward the door upon the Armed Men, who laid upon him with deadly force; but the Man, not at all discouraged, fell to cutting and hacking most fiercely; so, after he had received and given many wounds to those that attempted to keep him out, he cut his way through them all, and pressed forward into the Palace; at which there was a pleasant voice heard from those that were within, even of [5]the Three that walked upon the top of the Palace, [6]'saying,'

'*The Valiant Man.*'[4]

Act. 14. 22.

Come in, Come in;
Eternal Glory thou shalt win.

So he went in, and was cloathed with such Garments as they. Then *Christian* smiled, and said, I think verily I know the meaning of this.

Now, said *Christian*, let me go hence: Nay stay (said the *Interpreter*,) till I have shewed thee a little more, and after that thou shalt go on thy way. So he took him by the hand again, and led him into a very dark Room, where there sat a Man in an [x]Iron Cage.

[x] *Despair like an Iron Cage.*

Now the Man, to look on, seemed very sad: he

[1] 'Men,' after the 2nd edit.
[2] 'will,' in the 7th edit.
[3] 'a maze,' 2nd; 'amaze,' 7th and sub. edit.
[4] First inserted in the 2nd edit.
[5] 'those that walked,' 2nd and sub. edits.
[6] 'saying,' added to the 2nd and sub. edits.

sat with his eyes looking down to the ground, his hands folded together; and he sighed as if he would break his heart. Then said *Christian*, What means this? At which the *Interpreter* bid him talk with the Man.

Chr. Then said *Christian* to the Man, *What art thou?* The Man answered, *I am what I was not once.*

Chr. *What wast thou once?*

'Luke 8. 13.'[1] *Man.* The *Man* said, I was once a fair and flourishing Professor, both in mine own eyes, and also in the eyes of others: I once was, as I thought, fair for the Cœlestial City, and had then even joy at the thoughts that I should get thither.

Chr. *Well, but what art thou now?*

Man. I am *now* a Man of Despair, and am shut up in it, as in this Iron Cage. I cannot get out; O *now* I cannot.

Chr. *But how camest thou in this condition?*

Man. I left off to watch, and be sober; I laid the reins upon the neck of my lusts; I sinned against the light of the Word, and the goodness of God: I have grieved the Spirit, and he is gone; I tempted the Devil, and he is come to me; I have provoked God to anger, and he has left me; I have so hardened my heart, that I cannot repent.

Then said *Christian* to the *Interpreter*, But is there no hopes for such a Man as this? Ask him, said the *Interpreter?* [2]Nay, said *Christian*, pray Sir, do you.

[3]*Inter.* Then said [4]the *Interpreter*, *Is there no hope but you must be kept in* [5]*this Iron Cage of Despair?*

[1] Inserted in 2nd and sub. edits.
[2] 'Nay, said *Christian*, pray, Sir, do you., only occurs in the 1st edit.
[3] '*Chr.*' in 2nd and sub. edits.
[4] 'the Christian,' 2nd to 8th; after that 'Christian.'
[5] 'the,' 2nd and sub. edits.

Man. No, none at all.

[1]Inter. *Why? The Son of the Blessed is very pitiful.*

Man. I have [y]Crucified him to myself, a fresh. I have despised [z] his Person, I have despised his Righteousness, I have counted his Blood an unholy thing, I have done despite [a] to the Spirit of Grace: Therefore I have shut my self out of all the Promises; and there now remains to me nothing but threatnings, dreadful threatnings, [2]faithful threatnings of certain Judgment 'and firy Indignation,'[3] which shall devour me as an Adversary.

[y] Heb. 6. 6.
[z] Luke 19. 14.
[a] Heb. 10. 28, 29.

[1]Inter. *For what did you bring yourself into this condition?*

Man. For the Lusts, Pleasures, and Profits of this World; in the [4]injoyment of which, I did then promise my self much delight; but now [5]even every one of those things also bite me, and gnaw me like a burning worm.

[1]Inter. *But canst thou not now repent and turn?*

Man. God hath denied me repentance; his Word gives me no encouragement to believe; yea, himself hath shut me up in this Iron Cage; nor can all the men in the World let me out. O Eternity! Eternity! how shall I grapple with the misery that I must meet with in Eternity!

Inter. Then said the *Interpreter* to *Christian,* Let this mans misery be remembred by thee, and be an everlasting caution to thee.

Chr. Well, said *Christian,* this is fearful; God help me to watch and be sober; and to pray, that I may shun the [6]causes of this mans misery. Sir, is it not time for me to go on my way now?

[1] '*Chr.*' in 2nd and sub. edits.
[2] 'Fearful,' 7th and sub. edits.; except the 8th has 'faithful.'
[3] Introduced after the 2nd edit.
[4] 'enjoyment,' 2nd and sub.
[5] 'even,' omitted in 2nd and sub.
[6] 'cause,' 3rd and sub. edits.

Inter. Tarry till I shall shew thee one thing more, and then [1]thou shalt go on thy way.

So he took *Christian* by the hand again, and led him into a Chamber, where there was one a rising[2] out of Bed; and as he put on his Rayment, he shook and trembled. Then said *Christian*, Why doth this Man thus tremble? The *Interpreter* then bid him tell to *Christian* the reason of his so doing, So he began, and said: This night as I was in my sleep, I Dreamed, and behold the Heavens grew exceeding black; also it thundred and lightned in most fearful wise, that it put me into an Agony. So I looked up in my Dream, and saw the Clouds [3]rack at an unusual rate; upon which I heard a great sound of a Trumpet, and saw also a Man sit upon a Cloud, attended with the thousands of Heaven; they were all in flaming fire, also the Heavens [4]was on a burning flame. I heard then a voice, saying, *Arise ye Dead, and come to Judgment;* and with that, the Rocks rent, the Graves opened, & the Dead that were therein, came forth; some of them were exceeding glad, and looked upward; and some sought to hide themselves under the Mountains. Then I saw the Man that sat upon the Cloud, open the Book; and bid the World draw near. Yet there was by reason of a [7]Fiery flame that issued out and came [8]from before him, a convenient distance betwixt him and them, as betwixt the Judge and the Prisoners at the Bar. I heard it also proclaimed to them that attended on the Man

1 Cor. 15. 1 Thess. 4. Jude 15. 2 Thes. 1. 8. John 5. 28. Rev. 20. 11, 12, 13, 14.

Isa. 26. 21. Mic. 7. 16, 17. Ps. 5. 1, 2, 3.[5] Dan. 7. 10.[6]

[9] Mal. 3. 2, 3. [1] Dan. 7. 9, 10.

[1] 'you shall,' 3rd edit.

[2] 'rising,' 2nd and sub. edits.

[3] 'rackt,' 7th edit. [driven by the wind].

[4] 'were,' 2nd and sub. edits.

[5] All the early editions agree in the references to Ps. 5. 1, 2, 3; but Ps. 95. 1, 2, 3, would have answered much better.

[6] Inserted in 1st, to the 7th edits.; 8th, Dan. 10; altered in 9th, 1683, to 10, 7, and omitted in some edits.

[7] 'Fierce,' 2nd and sub. edits.

[8] 'from,' omitted in the 10th edit.

[9] First inserted in 2nd edit. as Mal. 50. 2, 3, and omitted in 7th; but correct in sub. edits.

[1] 2nd and sub. edits.

that sat on the Cloud; [c]*Gather together the Tares, the Chaff, and Stubble, and cast them into the burning Lake;* and with that, the Bottomless pit opened, just whereabout I stood; out of the mouth of which there came in an abundant manner Smoak, and Coals of fire, with hideous noises. It was also said to the same persons; *Gather my Wheat into* [3]*my Garner.* And with that I saw many catch't up [d]and carried away into the Clouds, but I was left behind. I also sought to hide my self, but I could not; for the Man that sat upon the Cloud, still kept his eye upon me: my sins also came into [4]'my' mind, and my Conscience did accuse me on every side. Upon this I awaked from my sleep.

[c] Mat. 3. 12. Chap. 13. 30. Mal. 4. 1.

[3] 'my,' altered to 'the' in 2nd and sub. edits.

['] [2] Luke 3. 17.'

[d] 1 Thess. 4. 16, 17.

[4] 2nd and sub. edits.

Rom. 2. 14, 15.

Chr. *But what was it that made you so fraid of this sight?*

Man. Why I thought that the day of Judgement was come, and that I was not ready for it: but this frighted me most, that the Angels gathered up several, and left me behind; also the pit of Hell opened her mouth just where I stood: my Conscience too [5]within afflicted me; and as I thought, the Judge had always his eye upon me, shewing indignation in his countenance.

[5] 'within,' omitted in 2nd and sub. edits.

Then said the *Interpreter* to *Christian, Hast thou considered all these things?*

Chri. Yes, and they put me in *hope* and *fear.*

Inter. Well, keep all things so in thy mind, that they may be as a *Goad* in thy sides, to prick thee forward in the way thou must go. Then *Christian* began to gird up his loins, and to address himself to his Journey. Then said the *Interpreter*, The

[1] This was changed to 'Mark' in the 2nd edit., and the error continued in all the sub. copies.

[2] First inserted in 2nd edit.



Who's this; the Pilgrim. How! 'tis very true,
Old things are past away, all's become new.
Strange! he's another Man upon my word,
They be fine Feathers that make a fine Bird.

Copied from the 13th edition, 1692.

Comforter be always with thee good *Christian*, to guide thee in the way that leads to the City.

So *Christian* went on his way, saying,

Here I have seen things rare, and profitable ;
Things pleasant, dreadful, things to make me stable
In what I have began to take in hand :
Then let me think on them, and understand
Wherefore they shewed me [1]*was, and let me be*
Thankful, O good Interpreter, to thee.

Now I saw in my Dream, that the high way up which *Christian* was to go, was fenced on either side with a Wall, and that Wall is called *Salvation.* [2]Isa. 26. 1. Up this way therefore did burdened *Christian* run, but not without great difficulty, because of the load on his back.

He ran thus till he came at a place somewhat ascending; and upon that place stood a *Cross*, and a little below in the bottom, a Sepulcher. So I saw in my Dream, that just as *Christian* came up with the *Cross*, his burden loosed from off his Shoulders, and fell from off his back; and began to tumble, and so continued to do, till it came to the mouth of of the Sepulcher, where it fell in, and I saw it no more.

Then was *Christian* glad [e]and lightsom, and said with a merry heart, *He hath given me rest, by his sorrow; and life, by his death.* Then he stood still a while, to look and wonder; for it was very surprising to him, that the sight of the Cross should thus ease him of his burden. He looked therefore, and looked again, even till the springs that were in his head sent the [f]waters down his cheeks. Now as he stood looking and weeping, behold three shining ones came to him, and saluted him, with *Peace be to thee:* so the first said to him, *Thy sins be for-*

[e] *When God releases us of our guilt and burden, we are as those that leap for joy.*

[f] Zech. 12. 10.

[1] *Mark 2. 5.

[1] 'was,' altered to 'were' about 1690.

[2] 2nd and sub. edits.; but all refer to Isa. 36. 1: evidently a typographical error.

given. The second, stript him of his Rags, and
[1] † 'Zech. 3. 4.' cloathed him with change of Raiment. The third
[1] * Ephes. 1. 13. also set a mark in his fore-head, and gave him a Roll with a Seal upon it, which he bid him look on as he ran, and that he should give it in at the Cœlestial Gate; so they went their way. Then *Christian* gave three leaps for joy, and went [2] out singing,

A Christian can sing tho alone, when God doth give him the joy of his heart.

Thus far did I come loaden with my sin;
Nor could ought ease the grief that I was in,
Till I came hither: What a place is this!
Must here be the beginning of my bliss!
Must here the burden fall from off my back?
Must here the strings that bound it to me, crack?
Blest Cross! blest Sepulcher! blest rather be
The Man that there was put to shame for me.

I saw then in my Dream that he went on thus, even untill he came at a bottom, where he saw, a little out of the way, three Men fast asleep with Fetters upon their heels. The name of the one was [a] *Simple*, another *Sloth*, and the third *Presumption.*

Simple, Sloth, and *Presumption.*

Christian then seeing them lye in this case, went to them, if peradventure he might awake them. And cryed, You are like them that sleep on the top
'† Prov. 23. 24.' of a Mast, for the dead Sea is under you, a Gulf that hath no bottom: Awake therefore and come away, be willing also, and I will help you off with your Irons. He also told them, If he that goeth
'* 1 Pet. 5. 8.' about like a roaring Lion comes by, you will certainly become a prey to his teeth. With that they lookt upon him, and began to reply in this sort:

[b] *There is no perswasion will do, if God openeth not the eyes*

[b] *Simple* said, *I see no danger; Sloth* said, *Yet a little more sleep:* and *Presumption* said, *Every Fatt must*

[1] First inserted in the 2nd edit.; all the editions refer to 'Mark 2. v. 2,' but it must have been a mistake for v. 5.

[2] 'went on,' 3rd and sub. edits.

[3] First added to 2nd edit.

stand upon his own bottom, [1]*what is the answer else that I should give thee.*[1] And so *they* lay down to sleep again, and *Christian* went on his way.

Yet was he troubled to think, That men in that danger should so little esteem the kindness of him that so freely offered to help them; both by awakening of them, counselling of them, and proffering to help them off with their Irons. And as he was troubled there-about, he espied two Men come tumbling over the Wall, on the left hand of the narrow way; and they made up a pace to him. The name of the one was *Formalist*, and the name of the other *Hypocrisie*. So, as I said, they drew up unto him, who thus entered with them into discourse.

Chr. *Gentlemen, Whence came you, and whither* [3]*do you go?* [2]*Christian talked with them.'*

Form. and *Hyp.* We were born in the Land of Vain-glory, and are going for praise to Mount *Sion.*

Chr. *Why came you not in at the Gate which standeth at the beginning of the way? Know you not that it is written,* [c]*That he that cometh not in by the door, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber?* [c] Joh. 10. 1.

Form and *Hyp.* They said, That to go to the Gate for entrance, was by all their Country-men counted too far about; and that therefore their usual way was to make a short cut of it, and to climb over [4]'the wall,' as they had done.

Chr. *But will it not be counted a Trespass, against the Lord of the City whither we are bound, thus to violate his revealed will?*

Form. and *Hyp.* They told him, [d]That as for that, he needed not to trouble his head thereabout: for what they did, they had custom for; and could [d] *They that come into the way, but not by the door, think that they can say something in vindication of their own Practice.*

[1] to [1] Inserted in the 1st edit. only.

[2] Inserted in the 3rd and sub. edits.

[3] whither go you? 9th edit., 1684, and sub.

[4] 'over it as,' 2nd edit.; 'over the wall,' 3rd and sub. edits.

produce, if need were, Testimony that would witness it, for more than a thousand years.

Chr. *But, said* Christian, *will* [1]*your practice stand a Trial at Law?*

Form. and *Hyp.* They told him, That Custom, it being of so long a standing, as above a thousand years, would doubtless now be admitted as a thing legal, by [2] any Impartial Judge. And besides, said they, so be[3] we get into the way, what's matter which way we get in; if we are in, we are in: thou art but in the way, who, as we perceive, came in at the Gate; and we are also in the way, that came tumbling over the wall: Wherein now is thy condition better than ours?

Chr. I walk by the [4] Rule of my Master, you walk by the rude working of your fancies. You are counted thieves already, by the Lord of the way; therefore I doubt you will not be found true men at the end of the way. You come in by your selves without his direction, and shall go out by your selves without his mercy.

To this they made him but little answer; only they bid him look to himself. Then I saw that they went on every man in his way, without much conference one with another; save that these two men told *Christian*, That, as to *Laws and Ordinances*, they doubted not but they should as conscientiously do them as he. Therefore said they, We see not wherein thou differest from us, but by the Coat that is on thy back, which was, as we tro,[5] given thee by some of thy Neighbours, to hide the shame of thy nakedness.

[6] Gal. 2. 16. *Chr.* By [6] Laws and Ordinances, you will not be

[1] 'will you stand,' 8th and 9th edits., 1683; 'will it stand,' 9th edit. 1684, and sub.

[2] 'an,' 2nd and sub. edits.

[3] 'if we get,' 2nd and sub. edits.

[4] 'Rule' in italics, 2nd and sub. edits.

[5] 'tro,' or 'trow,' believe.

[6] All the editions quote Gal. 1. 16; but the author must have intended it for Gal. 2. 16.

saved, since you came not in by the door. And a [s] for this Coat that is on my back, it was given me by the Lord of the place whither I go; and that, as you say, to cover my nakedness with. And I take it as a token of his kindness to me, for I had nothing but rags before. And besides,[f] thus I comfort myself as I go: Surely, think I, when I come to the Gate of the City, the Lord there-of will know me for good, since I have his Coat on my back; a Coat that he gave me freely in the day that he stript me of my rags. I have moreover a mark in my forehead, of which perhaps you have taken no notice, which one of my Lords most intimate Associates, fixed there in the day that my burden fell off my shoulders. I will tell you moreover, that I had then given me a Roll sealed to comfort me by reading, as I go [1] in the way; I was also bid to give it in at the Cœlestial Gate, in token of my certain going in after it: all which things I doubt you want, and want them, because you came not in at the Gate.

[f] Christian *has got his Lords Coat on his back, and is comforted therewith, he is comforted also with his Mark and his Roll.*

To these things they gave him no answer, only they looked upon each other and *laughed.* Then I saw that they went on all, save that *Christian* kept before, who had no more talk but with himself, and that somtimes sighingly, and somtimes comfortably: also he would be often reading in the Roll that one of the shining ones gave him, by which he was refreshed.

[2] Christian *has talk with himself.*

I beheld then, that they all went on till they came to the foot of an [3] Hill, [4] *Difficulty,* [g] at the bottom of which was a Spring. There was also in the same place two other ways besides that which came straight from the Gate; one turned to the left hand, and the other to the right, at the bottom of the Hill:

[g] *He comes to the hill Difficulty.*

[1] 'I go on,' 8th edit. and sub.
[2] First inserted in 9th edit., 1684
[3] 'the Hill,' 2nd and sub. edits.
[4] The name of the hill omitted in the 1st edit.

but the narrow way lay right up the Hill (and the name of the going up the side of the Hill, is called
† Isa.49.10. *Difficulty.*) *Christian* now went to the Spring and drank thereof to refresh himself, and then began to go up the Hill; saying,

[2] *This Hill, though high, I covet to ascend;*
The difficulty will not me offend;
For I perceive the way to life lies here;
Come, pluck up, Heart; lets neither faint nor fear:
Better, tho difficult, th'right way to go,
Than wrong, though easie, where the end is wo.

The other two also came to the foot of the Hill. But when they saw that the Hill was steep and high, and that there was two other ways to go; and supposing also, that these two ways might meet again, with that up which *Christian* went, on the other side of the Hill: Therefore they were resolved to go in those ways (now the name of one of those ways was *Danger*, and the name of the other
h *The danger of turning out of the way.* *Destruction.*) So [h]the one took the way which is called *Danger*, which led him into a great Wood; and the other took directly up the way to *Destruction*, which led him into a wide field full of dark Mountains, where he stumbled and fell, and [3] rise no more.

I looked then after *Christian*, to see him go up the Hill, where I perceived he fell from running to going, and from going to clambering upon his hands and his knees, because of the steepness of the place. Now about the midway to the top of the
i [1] *A ward of grace.* Hill, was a pleasant [i]*Arbour*, made by the Lord of

[1] First inserted in 2nd edit. as Isa. 45. 10, but corrected in 7th and sub. edits.
[2] 'The Hill,' 2nd and sub. edit.
[3] 'rose,' 3rd and sub. edits.
[4] Altered to '*A Word*' in Sturt's *correct* edition.
[5] 'refreshing,' after 3rd edit.



Shall they who wrong begin yet rightly end?
Shall they at all have safety for their friend?
No, no, in head-strong manner they set out,
And headlong will they fall at last no doubt.

Copied from the 13th edition, 1692.

the Hill, for the [5]refreshment of weary Travailers. Thither therefore *Christian* got, where also he sat down to rest him. Then he pull'd his Roll out of his bosom and read therein to his comfort; he also now began afresh to take a review of the Coat or Garment that was given him as he stood by the Cross. Thus pleasing himself a while, he at last fell into a slumber, and thence into a fast sleep, which detained him in that place untill it was almost night, and in his sleep his [1]Roll fell out of his hand. Now as he was sleeping, there came one to him, and awaked him saying, *Go to the ant, thou sluggard, consider her ways and be wise.* And with that *Christian* suddenly started up, and sped him on his way, and went a pace till he came to the top of the Hill.

[1]He that sleeps is a loser.

'[1]Prov.6.6.'

Now when he was got up to the top of the Hill, there came two Men [2]running against him amain; the name of the one was *Timorus*, [3]and the name of the other *Mistrust*, to whom *Christian* said, Sirs, what's the matter you run the wrong way? *Timorus* answered, That they were going to the City of *Zion*, and had got up that *difficult* place; but, said he, the further we go, the more danger we meet with, wherefore we turned, and are going back again.

'Christian *meets with* Mistrust *and* Timorous.'[4]

Yes, said *Mistrust*, for just before us lye a couple of Lyons in the way, whether sleeping or wakeing we know not; and we could not think, if we came within reach, but they would presently pull us in pieces.

Chr. Then said *Christian*, You make me afraid, but whither shall I fly to be safe? If I go back to mine own Countrey, *That* is prepared for Fire and

[1] Inserted in 2nd edit. and sub.

[2] 'running amain,' 8th and 9th edit. [3]; 'running to meet him amain,' 9th edit., 1684, and sub.

[3] 'and the other,' 2nd and sub. edits.

[4] In the 2nd and sub. edits.

Brimstone; and I shall certainly perish there. If I can get to the Cœlestial City, I am sure to be in safety there. I must venture: To go back is nothing but death, to go forward is fear of death, and life everlasting beyond it. I will yet go forward. So *Mistrust* and *Timorus* ran down the Hill; and *Christian* went on his way. But thinking again of what he heard from the men, he felt in his bosom for his Roll, that he might read therein and be comforted; but he felt and [k] found it not. Then was *Christian* in great distress, and knew not what to do, for he wanted that which used to relieve him, and that which should have been his Pass into the Cœlestial City. Here therefore he began to be much perplexed, and knew not what to do; at last he bethought himself that he had slept in the *Arbour* that is on the side of the Hill: and falling down upon his knees, he asked God forgiveness for [2]that his foolish Fact; and then went back to look for his Roll. But all the way he went back, who can sufficiently set forth the sorrow of *Christians* heart? somtimes he sighed, somtimes he wept, and often times he chid himself, for being so foolish to fall asleep in that place which was erected only for a little refreshment [3] from his weariness. Thus therefore he went back; carefully looking on this side and on that, all the way as he went, if happily he might find his Roll, that had been his comfort so many times in his Journey. He went thus till he came again within sight of the *Arbour*, where he sat and slept; but that sight renewed his [l]sorrow the more, by bringing again, even afresh, his evil of sleeping into his mind. Thus therefore he now went on bewailing his sinful sleep, saying, *O wretched Man that I am*, that I should sleep in the

'* Christian *shakes off fear.*'[1]

[k] Christian *missed his Roll wherein he used to take Comfort.*

[1] '* *He is perplexed for his Roll.*'

[l] Christian *bewails his foolish sleeping.* Rev. 2. 2. '[1] 2 Thess. 5. 7, 8.'

[1] In 2nd and sub. edits.

[2] that foolish Fact, 8th and sub. edits.

[3] 'for,' 3rd and sub. edits.

day-time! that I should sleep in the midst of difficulty! that I should so indulge the flesh, as to use that rest for ease to my flesh, which the Lord of the Hill hath erected only for the relief of the spirits of Pilgrims! How many steps have I took in vain! (Thus it happened to *Israel* for their sin, they were sent back again by the way of the Red-Sea.) and I am made to tread those steps with sorrow, which I might have trod with delight, had it not been for this sinful sleep. How far might I have been on my way by this time! I am made to tread those steps thrice over, which I needed not to have trod but once: Yea now also I am like to be benighted, for the day is almost spent. O that I had not slept! Now by this time he was come to the *Arbour* again, where for a while he sat down and wept, but at last (as *Christian* would have it) looking sorrowfully down under the Settle, there he espied his Roll; the which he with trembling and haste catch't up, and put it into his bosom; but who can tell how joyful this Man was, when he had gotten his Roll again! For this Roll was the assurance of his life and acceptance at the desired Haven. Therefore he laid it up in his bosom, gave thanks to God for directing his eye to the place where it lay, and with joy and tears betook himself again to his Journey. But Oh how nimbly now, did he go up the rest of the Hill! Yet before he got up, the Sun went down upon *Christian;* and this made him again recall the vanity of his sleeping to his remembrance, and thus he again began to condole with himself: *Ah*[2] *thou sinful sleep! how for thy sake am I like to be benighted in my Journey! I must walk without the Sun, darkness must cover the path of my feet, and I must hear the noise of* '*the*'[3] *doleful Creatures, because*

'* Christian findeth his Roll where he lost it.'[1]

[1] 2nd and sub. edits.
[2] Altered to 'Oh' in 2nd and sub. edits.
[3] 8th and sub. edits.

of my sinful sleep! Now also he remembered the story that *Mistrust* and *Timorus* told him of, how they were frighted with the sight of the Lions. Then said *Christian* to himself again, These Beasts range in the night for their prey, and if they should meet with me in the dark, how should I shift them! how should I escape being by them torn [1]'in' pieces? Thus he went on his way, but while he was thus bewayling his unhappy miscarriage, he lift up his eyes, and behold there was a very stately Palace before him, the name [2]whereof was *Beautiful*, and it stood just by the High-way side.

So I saw in my Dream, that he made haste and went forward, that if possible he might get Lodging there; now before he had gone far, he entered into a very narrow passage, which was about a furlong off of the Porters Lodge, and looking very narrowly before him as he went, he espied two Lions in the way. Now, thought he, I see the dangers that *Mistrust* and *Timorus*, were driven back by. (The Lions were Chained, but he saw not the Chains) Then he was afraid, and thought also himself to go back after them, for he thought nothing but death was before him: But the *Porter* at the Lodge, whose Name is [m]*Watchful*, perceiving that *Christian* made a halt, as if he would go back, cried unto him, saying, Is thy strength so small? fear not the Lions, for they are Chained: and are placed there for trial of faith where it is; and for discovery of those that have none: keep in the midst of the Path, and no hurt shall come unto thee. [m] Mar. 13. '14.'[3]

Then I saw that he went on, trembling for fear of the Lions; but taking good heed to the directions of the *Porter;* he heard them roar, but they did him no harm. Then he clapt his hands, and went

[1] Inserted in 3rd and sub. edits.
[2] Altered to 'of which,' 2nd and sub. edits.
[3] The verse added to 2nd and sub. edits.



Difficult is behind, Fear is before,
Though he's got on the Hill, the Lions roar;
A Christian man is never long at ease,
When one fright's gone, another doth him seize.

Copied from the thirteenth edition, 1692.

on, till he came and stood before the Gate where the *Porter* was. Then said *Christian* to the *Porter*, Sir, What house is this? and may I lodge here to night? The *Porter* answered, This House was built by the Lord of the Hill, and he built it for the relief and security of Pilgrims. The *Porter* also asked whence he was, and whither he was going?

Chr. I am come from the City of *Destruction*, and am going to Mount *Zion*, but because the Sun is now set, I desire, if I may, to lodge here to night.

Por. *What is your name?*

Chr. My name is now *Christian;* but my name at the first was *Graceless:* I came of the Race of *Japhet*, whom God will perswade to dwell in the Tents of *Shem*. [1] * Gen. 9 27.

Por. *But how doth it happen* [2] *that you come so late, the Sun is set?*

Chr. I had been here sooner, but that, wretched man that I am! I slept in the *Arbour* that stands on the Hill side; nay, I had notwithstanding that, been here much sooner, but that in my sleep I lost my Evidence, and came without it to the brow of the Hill; and then feeling for it, and finding it not, I was forced with sorrow of heart, to go back to the place where I slept my sleep, where I found it, and now I am come.

Por. Well, I will call out one of the Virgins of this place, who will, if she likes your talk, bring you in to the rest of the Family, according to the Rules of the House. So *Watchful* the *Porter* rang a Bell, at the sound of which, came out at the door of the House, a Grave and Beautiful Damsel, named *Discretion*, and asked why she was called.

The *Porter* answered, This Man is in a Journey

[1] 2nd and sub. edits.

[2] 'that,' omitted in 8th and sub. edits.

from the City of *Destruction* to Mount *Zion*, but being weary, and benighted, he asked me if he might lodge here to night; so I told him I would call for thee, who after discourse had with him, mayest do as seemeth thee good, even according to the Law of the House.

Then she asked him whence he was, and whither he was going, and he told her. She asked him also, how he got into the way, and he told her; Then she asked him, What he had seen, and met with in the way, and he told her; and last, she asked his name, so he said, It is *Christian;* and I have so much the more a desire to lodge here to-night, because, by what I perceive, this place was built by the Lord of the Hill, for the relief and security of Pilgrims. So she smiled, but the water stood in her eyes: And after a little pause, she said, I will call forth two or three more of the Family. So she ran to the door, and called out *Prudence, Piety,* and *Charity,* who after a little more discourse with him, had him in to the Family; and many of them meeting him at the threshold of the House, said, Come in thou blessed of the Lord; this House was built by the Lord of the Hill, on purpose to entertain such Pilgrims in. Then he bowed his head, and followed them into the House: So when he was come in, and set down, they gave him somthing to drink; and consented together that until supper was ready, some [1]one or two of them should have some particular discourse with *Christian,* for the best improvement of time: and they appointed *Piety,* and *Prudence,* '[2]and *Charity,*' to discourse with him; and thus they began.

'Piety *discourses him.*'[2]

Piety. *Come good* Christian, *since we have been so loving to you, to receive you into our House this night;*

[1] 'some of them,' 2nd and sub. edits. [2] 2nd and sub. edits.

let us, if perhaps we may better our selves thereby, talk with you of all things that have happened to you in your Pilgrimage.

Chr. With a very good will, and I am glad that you are so well disposed.

Piety. *What moved you at first to betake yourself to a Pilgrims life.*

Chr. I was [a]driven out of my Native Countrey, by a dreadful sound that was in mine ears, to wit, That unavoidable destruction did attend me, if I abode in that place where I was.

[a] *How* Christian *was driven out of his own Countrey.*

Piety. *But how did it happen that you came out of your Countrey this way?*

Chr. It was as God would have it, for when I was under the fears of destruction, I did not know whither to go; but by chance there came a Man, even to me, (as I was trembling and weeping) whose name is [b]*Evangelist*, and he directed me to the Wicket-Gate, which else I should never have found; and so set me into the way that hath led me directly to this House.

[b] *How he got into the Way to* Sion.

Piety. *But did you not come by the House of the Interpreter?*

Chr. Yes, and did see such things there, the remembrance of which will stick by me as long as I live; specially three [c]things, *to wit*, How Christ, in despite of Satan, maintains his work of Grace in the heart; how the Man had sinned himself quite out of hopes of Gods mercy; and also the Dream of him that thought in his sleep the day of Judgement was come.

[c] *A rehersal of what he saw in the way.*

Piety. *Why? Did you hear him tell his Dream?*

Chr. Yes, and a dreadful one it was. I thought it made my heart ake as he was telling of it, but yet I am glad I heard it.

Piety. *Was that all that*[1] *you saw at the House of the Interpreter?*

[1] 'all you saw,' 10th edit.

Chr. No, he took me and had me where he shewed me a stately Palace, and how the People were clad in Gold that were in it; and how there came a venturous Man, and cut his way through the armed men that stood in the door to keep him out; and how he was bid to come in, and win eternal Glory. Methought those things did ravish my heart; I [1]could have stayed at that good Mans house a twelve-month, but that I knew I had further to go.

Piety. *And what saw you else in the way?*

Chr. Saw! Why I went but a little further, and I saw one, as I thought in my mind, hang bleeding upon the Tree; and the very sight of him made my burden fall off my back (for I groaned under a [2]weary burden) but then it fell down from off me. 'Twas a strange thing to me, for I never saw such a thing before: Yea, and while I stood looking up, (for then I could not forbear looking) three shining ones came to me: one of them testified that my sins were forgiven me; another stript me of my Rags, and gave me this Broidred Coat which you see; and the third set the mark which you see, in my forehead, and gave me this sealed Roll (and with that he plucked it out of his bosom.)

Piety. *But you saw more then this, did you not?*

Chr. The things that I have told you were the best: yet some other [3]small matters I saw, as namely I saw three Men, *Simple*, *Sloth*, and *Presumption*, lye a sleep a little out of the way as I came, with Irons upon their heels; but do you think I could awake them! I also saw [4]*Formalist* and *Hypocrisie* come tumbling over the wall, to go, as they pretended, to *Sion*, but they were quickly

[1] 'would,' 3rd and sub. edits.
[2] 'a heavy,' 2nd to 7th edit.; 'a very heavy,' 8th and sub. edits.
[3] 'small,' omitted in 2nd and sub. edits.
[4] 'Formality,' 3rd and sub. edits.

lost; even as I myself did tell them, but they would not believe: but, above all, I found it *hard* work to get up this Hill, and as *hard* to come by the Lions [5]mouths; and truly if it had not been for the good Man, the Porter that stands at the Gate, I do not know, but that after all, I might have gone back again: but now I thank God I am here, and I thank you for receiving of me.

Then *Prudence* thought good to ask him a few questions, and desired his answer to them.

Pru. *Do you not think somtimes of the Countrey from whence you came?* [c] Prudence discourses him.

Chr. Yes, [d]but with much shame and detestation; *Truly, if I had been mindful of that Countrey from whence I came out, I might have had opportunity to have returned, but now I desire a better Countrey, that is, an Heavenly.* [d] Christians thoughts of his Native Countrey. Heb. 11. 15, 16.

Pru. *Do you not yet bear away with you some of the things that then you were conversant withal?*

Chr. Yes, but greatly against my will; especially my inward and [e]carnal cogitations; with which all my Countrey-men, as well as myself, were delighted; but now all those things are my grief: and might I but chuse mine own things, I would [f]chuse never to think of those things more; but when I would be doing of that which is best, that which is worst is with me. [e] Christian distasted with carnal cogitations. [f] Christians choice. [g] Rom. 7.[7]

Pru. *Do you not find sometimes, as if those things were vanquished, which at other times are your perplexity.*

Chr. Yes, but that is but seldom; but they are to me [g]Golden hours, in which such things happens to me. [g] Christians golden hours.

Pru. *Can you remember by what means you find your anoyances at times, as if they were vanquished?*

[5] 'mouth,' 2nd and sub. edits.
[6] 2nd and sub. edits.
[7] First inserted in the 8th edit.

[h] *How* Christian *gets power against his corruptions.*

Chr. Yes, when [h]I think what I saw at the Cross, that will do it; and when I look upon my Broidered Coat, that will do it; also when I look into the Roll that I carry in my bosom, that will do it; and when my thoughts wax warm about whither I am going, that will do it.

Pru. *And what is it that makes you so desirous to go to Mount* Zion?

[i] *Why* Christian *would be at Mount* Zion.

Chr. Why, [i]there I hope to see him *alive*, that did hang *dead* on the Cross; and there I hope to be rid of all those things, that to this day are in me an anoiance to me; there they say there is no death, and there I shall dwell with such Company as I like best. For to tell you truth, I love him, because I was by him eased of my burden, and I am weary of my inward sickness; I would fain be where I shall die no more, and with the Company that shall continually cry *Holy, Holy, Holy.*

'† Isa. 25. 8. Rev. 21. 4.'[8]

[9] '* Charity '*discourses* '*him.*

'Then said *Charity* to *Christian, Have you a* '*family? are you a married man?*

'*Chr.* I have a Wife and four small Children.

'Cha. *And why did you not bring them along with* '*you?*

'* Christian's *love* '*to his Wife* '*and Children.*

'*Chr.* Then *Christian* *wept, and said, Oh how 'willingly would I have done it, but they were all 'of them utterly averse to my going on Pilgrim-'age.

'Cha. *But you should have talked to them, and have* '*endeavoured to have shewen them the danger of being* '*behind.*

'*Chr.* So I did, and told them also what God Gen. 19. 14. 'had shewed to me of the destruction of our City; 'but I seemed to them as one that mocked, and 'they believed me not.

[8] First inserted in the 2nd edit.

[9] Lines marked ' were first inserted in the 2nd edit.

'Cha. *And did you pray to God that he would* 'bless your counsel to them?

'*Chr.* Yes, and that with much affection; for 'you must think that my Wife and poor Children 'were very dear unto me.

'Cha. *But did you tell them of your own sorrow,* 'and fear of destruction? for I suppose that destruc- 'tion was visible enough to you?

'*Chr.* Yes, over, and over, and over. They 'might also *see my fears in my countenance, in 'my tears, and also in my trembling under the 'apprehension of the Judgment that did hang over 'our heads; but all was not sufficient to prevail with 'them to come with me.

'* Christian's *fears of perishing might be read in his very countenance.*

'Cha. *But what could they say for themselves why* 'they came not?

'*Chr.* Why, *my Wife was afraid of losing this 'World; and my Children were given to the foolish 'delights of youth: so what by one thing, and what 'by another, they left me to wander in this manner 'alone.

'* The cause why his Wife and Children did not go with him.*

'Cha. *But did you not with your vain life, damp* 'all that you by words used by way of perswasion to 'bring them away with you?

'*Chr.* Indeed I cannot commend my life; for I 'am conscious to my self of many failings: therein, 'I know also that a man by his conversation, may 'soon overthrow what by argument or perswasion 'he doth labour to fasten upon others for their 'good: Yet, this I can say, I was very wary of 'giving them occasion, by any unseemly action, to 'make them averse to going on Pilgrimage. Yea, 'for this very thing, they would tell me I was too 'precise, and that I denied my self of [1]sins (for their 'sakes) in which they saw no evil. Nay, I think I 'may say, that, if what they saw in me did hinder 'them, it was my great tenderness in sinning

'Christian's good conversation before his Wife and Children.

[1] 'of things,' after the 2nd edit.

'against God, or of doing any wrong to my 'Neighbor.

'*1 John 3. 12. 'Christian 'clear of 'their blood 'if they 'perish. †Ezek. 3.19.[4] 'Cha. *Indeed,* *Cain *hated his Brother, because his 'own works were evil, and his Brothers righteous; 'and if thy Wife and Children have been offended with 'thee for this, they thereby shew themselves to be implacable to †good; and thou hast delivered thy soul 'from their blood.'

Now I saw in my Dream, that thus they sat talking together until supper was ready. So when they had made ready, they sat down to meat; [k]*What* Christian *had to his supper.* Now the Table was furnished [k]with fat things, and with Wine that was well refined; and all their talk [l]*Their talk at supper time.* [l]at the Table, was about the Lord of the Hill: As namely, about what [5]he had done, and wherefore he did what he did, and why he had builded that House: and by what they said, I perceived that he had been a *great Warriour*, and had fought with '†Heb. 2. 14, 15.'[6] and slain him that had the power of death, but not without great danger to himself, which made me love him the more.

For, as they said, and as I believe (said *Christian*) he did it with the loss of much blood; but that which put Glory of Grace into all he did, was, that he did it '[8]out' of pure love to his Countrey. And besides, there were some of them of the Household that said, they had [7]seen and spoke with him since he did dye on the Cross; and they have attested, that they had it from his own lips, that he is such a lover of poor Pilgrims, that the like is not to be found from the East to the West.

They moreover gave an instance of what they affirmed, and that was, He had stript himself of his glory that he might do this for the Poor; and that

[4] All the editions refer in error to 'Ezek. 4. 19;' and have placed the mark of reference between the words 'to † good.'

[5] 'HE,' in all this paragraph, 3rd and sub. edits.

[6] 2nd and sub. edits.

[7] 'been,' after the 2nd edit.

[8] 'out,' 8th and sub. edits.

they heard him say and affirm, That he would not dwell in the Mountain of *Zion* alone. They said moreover, That he had made many Pilgrims [a]Princes, though by nature they were Beggars born, and their original had been the Dunghil.

[a] *Christ makes Princes of Beggars.* ‘†1 Sam. 2.8. Psal. 113. 7.[2]’

Thus they discoursed together till late at night, and after they had committed themselves to their Lord for Protection, they betook themselves to rest. The Pilgrim they laid in a large upper [b]Chamber, whose window opened towards the Sun rising; the name of the Chamber was *Peace*, where he slept till break of day; and then he awoke and sang,

[b] *Christians Bed-chamber.*

Where am I now! is this the love and care
Of Jesus, for the men that Pilgrims are!
Thus to provide! That I should be forgiven!
And dwell already the next door to Heaven!

So in the Morning they all got up, and after some more discourse, they told him that he should not depart, till they had shewed him the *Rarities* of that place. And first they had him into the Study, [c]where they shewed him Records of the greatest Antiquity; in which, as I remember my Dream, they shewed him first the Pedigree of the Lord of the Hill, that he was the Son of the Ancient of Days, and came by [3]an eternal Generation. Here also was more fully Recorded the Acts that he had done, and the names of many hundreds that he had taken into his service; and how he had placed them in such Habitations that could neither by length of Days, nor decaies of Nature, be dissolved.

[c] *Christian had into the Study, and what he saw there*

Then they read to him some of the worthy Acts that some of his Servants had done. As how they had subdued Kingdoms, wrought Righteousness,

[2] References added to the 2nd edition, and sub.

[3] ‘by that,’ 3rd and sub. edits

obtained Promises, stopped the mouths of Lions,
[d] Heb. 11. 33, 34. quenched the[d] violence of Fire, escaped the edge of the Sword; out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, and turned to flight the Armies of the *Aliens*.

Then they read again in another part of the Records of the House, where it was shewed how willing their Lord was to receive into his favour any, even any, though they in time past had offered great affronts to his Person and proceedings. Here also were several other Histories of many other famous things, of all which *Christian* had a view. As of things both Ancient and Modern; together with Prophecies and Predictions of things that have their certain accomplishment, both to the dread and amazement of enemies, and the comfort and solace of Pilgrims.

The next day they took him and had him into
[e] Christian had into the Armory. the [e]Armory; where they shewed him all manner of Furniture, which their Lord had provided for Pilgrims, as Sword, Shield, Helmet, Brest plate, *All Prayer*, and Shooes that would not wear out. And there was here enough of this to harness out as many men for the service of their Lord, as there be Stars in the Heaven for multitude.

They also shewed him some of the Engines with which some of his Servants had done wonderful
[f] Christian is made to see Ancient things. things. [f]They shewed him [1]*Moses* Rod, the Hammer and Nail with which *Jael* slew *Sisera*, the Pitchers, Trumpets, and Lamps too, with which *Gideon* put to flight the Armies of *Midian*. Then they shewed him the Oxes goad wherewith *Shamger* slew six hundred men. They shewed him also the Jaw bone with which *Sampson* did such mighty feats; they shewed him moreover the Sling and Stone with which *David* slew *Goliah* of *Gath*: and

[1] 'Moses's,' 2nd and sub. edits.

the Sword also with which their Lord will kill the Man of Sin, in the day that he shall rise up to the prey. They shewed him besides many excellent things, with which *Christian* was much delighted. This done, they went to their rest again.

Then I saw in my Dream, that on the morrow he got up to go forwards, but they desired him to stay till the next day also, and then said they, we will, [2]if the day be clear, shew you the [g]delectable Mountains; which they said, would yet further add to his comfort; because they were nearer the desired [3]Haven, then the place where at present he was. So he consented and staid. When the Morning was up, they had him to the top of the House, [h]and bid him look South, so he did; and behold at a great distance he saw a most pleasant Mountainous Countrey, beautified with Woods, Vinyards, Fruits of all sorts, Flowers also; '[4]with' Springs and Fountains, very delectable to behold. Then he asked the name of the Countrey, they said it was *Immanuels Land:* and it is as common, said they, as this *Hill* is, to and for all the Pilgrims. And when thou comest there, from thence, [5]said they, thou maist see to the Gate of the Cœlestial City, as the Shepheards that live there will make appear.

[g] Christian *shewed the delectable Mountains.*

[h] Isa. 33. 16, 17.

Now he bethought himself of setting forward, [i] and they were willing he should: but first, said they, let us go again into the Armory, so they did; and when he came there, they [k]harnessed him from head to foot, with what was of proof, lest perhaps he should meet with assaults in the way. He being therefore thus acoutred walketh out with his friends to the Gate, and there he asked the *Porter* if he saw any Pilgrims pass by, Then the *Porter* answered, Yes.

[i] Christian *sets forward.*

[k] Christian *sent away Armed.*

[2] (if the day be clear), 2nd and sub. edits.

[3] 'Heaven,' 7th and 10th.

[4] Omitted in the first. edit.

[5] 'said they,' omitted in 3rd and sub. edit.

Chr. Pray did you know him? '[6]said he.'

Por. I asked his name, and he told me it was *Faithful.*

Chr. O, said *Christian*, I know him, he is my Towns-man, my near Neighbour, he comes from the place where I was born: how far do you think he may be before?

Porter. He is got by this time below the Hill.

[1] *How* Christian *and the Porter greet at parting.*

Chr. [1]Well, said *Christian*, good Porter the Lord be with thee, and add to all thy blessings much increase, for the kindness that thou hast shewed to me.

Then he began to go forward, but *Discretion*, *Piety*, *Charity*, and *Prudence*, would accompany him down to the foot of the Hill. So they went on together, reiterating their former discourses till they came to go down the Hill. Then said *Christian*, As it was *difficult* coming up, so (so far as I can see) it is *dangerous* going down. Yes, said *Prudence*, so it is; for it is an hard matter for a man to go down into the valley of *Humiliation*, as thou art now, and to catch no slip by the way; therefore, said they, are we come out to accompany thee down the Hill. So he began to go down, but very warily, yet he caught a slip or too.

'*The Valley of* Humiliation.'[7]

Then I saw in my Dream, that these good Companions, [8]when *Christian* was gone down to the bottom of the Hill, gave him a loaf of Bread, a bottle of Wine, and a cluster of Raisins; and then he went on his way.

But now in this Valley of *Humiliation* poor *Christian* was hard put to it, for he had gone but a little way before he espied a foul *Fiend* coming over the field to meet him; his name is *Apollyon*. Then did *Christian* begin to be afraid, and to cast in his

[6] Added to 2nd and sub. edits.

[7] 8th and sub. edit.

[8] From 'when' to 'Hill,' in parentheses after the 1st edit.



Whilst *Christian* is among his godly friends,
Their golden mouths make him sufficient 'mends.
For all his griefs, and when they let him go,
He's clad with northern steel from top to toe.

Copied from the 13th edition, 1692.

mind whither to go back, or to stand his ground. But he considered again, that he had no Armour for his back, and therefore thought that to turn the back to him, might give him greater advantage with ease to pierce him with his Darts; therefore he resolved [k]to venture, and stand his ground. For thought he, had I no more in mine eye, then the saving of my life, 'twould be the best way to stand.

'Christian *no Armor for his back.* [9]'

[k] Christians *resolution at* [1] *the approach of* Apollyon.

So he went on, and *Apollyon* met him; now the Monster was hidious to behold, he was cloathed with scales like a Fish (and they are his pride) he had Wings like a Dragon, '[2]feet like a Bear,' and out of his belly came Fire and Smoak, and his mouth was as the mouth of a Lion. When he was come up to *Christian*, he beheld him with a disdainful countenance, and thus began to question with him.

Apol. *Whence come you, and whither are you bound?*

Chr. I '[2]am' come from the City of *Destruction*, [1]which is the place of all evil, and am going to the City of *Zion*.

[1] *Discourse betwixt* Christian *and* Apollyon.

Apol. *By this I perceive thou art one of my Subjects, for all that Countrey is mine; and I am the Prince and God of it. How is it then that thou hast ran away from thy King? Were it not that I hope thou maiest do me more service, I would strike thee now at one blow to the ground.*

Chr. I was born indeed in your Dominions, but your service was hard, and your wages such as a man could not live on, *for the wages of Sin is death;* therefore when I was come to years, I did as other [3]considerate persons do, look out, if perhaps I might mend my self.

'[2]* Rom. 6. 23.'

Apol. *There is no Prince that will thus lightly*

[9] 9th, 1684, and sub.
[1] 'on the,' 3rd and sub. edits.
[2] Added to 2nd and sub. edit.
[3] 'considerated,' 3rd and sub. edits. to the 8th.

lose his Subjects, neither will I as yet lose thee. But since thou complainest of thy service and wages [m] *be content to go back; what our Countrey will afford, I do here promise to give thee.*

[m] Apollyons flattery.

Chr. But I have let my self to another, even to the King of Princes, and how can I with fairness go back with thee?

Apol. *Thou hast done in this, according to the Proverb,* [n] *changed a bad for a worse: but it is ordinary for those that have professed themselves his Servants, after a while to give him the slip, and return again to me: do thou so to, and all shall be well.*

[n] Apollyon undervalues Christs service.

Chr. I have given him my faith, and sworn my Allegiance to him; how then can I go back from this, and not be hanged as a Traitor?

Apol. *Thou didest the same to me,*[o] *and yet I am willing to pass by all, if now thou will* '[3]*yet' turn again, and go back.*

[o] Apollyon pretends to be merciful.[2]

Chr. What I promised thee was in my non-age; and besides, I count that the Prince under whose Banner now I stand, is able to absolve me; yea, and to pardon also what I did as to my compliance with thee: and besides, (O thou destroying *Apollyon*) to speak truth, I like his Service, his Wages, his Servants, his Government, his Company, and Countrey better then thine: and therefore leave off to perswade me further, I am his Servant, and I will follow him.

Apol. *Consider again when thou art in cool blood, what thou art like to meet with in the way that thou goest. Thou knowest that for the most part, his Servants come to an ill end, because they are transgressors against me, and my ways: How many of them have been put to shameful deaths! and besides, thou countest*

Apollyon pleads the grievous ends of Christians to diswade Christian from persisting in his way.

[2] Omitted in 2nd and all sub. edits., but the mark for the reference is continued in the 2nd edit.

[3] Not in the 1st and 2nd, but inserted in the 3rd and sub. edits.

his service better then mine, whereas he never came yet from the place where he is, to deliver any that served him out of [4]*our hands; but as for me, how many times, as all the World very well knows, have I delivered, either by power or fraud, those that have faithfully served me, from him and his, though taken by them, and so I will deliver thee.*

Chr. His forbearing at present to deliver them, is on purpose to try their love, whether they will cleave to him to the end: and as for the ill end thou sayest they come too, that is most glorious in their account: For for present deliverance, they do not much expect it; for they stay for their Glory, and then they shall have it, when their Prince comes in his, and the Glory of the Angels.

Apol. *Thou hast already been unfaithful in thy service to him, and how dost thou think to receive wages of him?*

Chr. Wherein, O *Apollyon*, have I been unfaithful to him.

Apollyon *pleads* Christians *infirmities against him.*

Apol. *Thou didst faint at first setting out, when thou wast almost choked in the Gulf of Dispond; thou diddest attempt wrong ways to be rid of thy burden, whereas thou shouldest have stayed till thy Prince had taken it off: Thou didst sinfully sleep and loose thy choice thing: thou wast also almost perswaded to go back, at the sight of the Lions; and when thou talkest of thy Journey, and of what thou hast heard, and seen, thou art inwardly desirous of vain-glory in all that thou sayest or doest.*

Chr. All this is true, and much more, which thou hast left out; but the Prince whom I serve and honour, is merciful, and ready to forgive: but besides, these infirmities possessed me in thy Countrey, for there I suckt them in, and I have groaned under them, been sorry for them, and have obtained pardon of my Prince.

[4] 'their,' 2nd and sub. edits.

Apol. Then *Apollyon* broke out into a grievous rage, saying, *I am an Enemy to this Prince: I hate his Person, his Laws, and People: I am come out on purpose to withstand thee.* Apollyon *in a rage falls upon* Christian.

Chr. Apollyon beware what you do, for I am in the Kings High-way, the way of Holiness, therefore take heed to your self.

Apol. Then *Apollyon* strodled quite over the whole breadth of the way, and said, I am void of fear in this matter, prepare thy self to dye, for I swear '[5]by my Infernal Den, that' thou shalt go no further, here will I spill thy soul; and with that, he threw a flaming Dart at his brest, but *Christian* had a Shield in his hand, with which he caught it, and so prevented the danger of that. Then did *Christian* draw, for he saw 'twas time to bestir him; and *Apollyon* as fast made at him, throwing Darts as thick as Hail; by the which, notwithstanding all that *Christian* could do to avoid it, *Apollyon* wounded him in his [7]head, his [7]hand and [7]foot; this made *Christian* give a little back: *Apollyon* therefore followed his work amain, and *Christian* again took courage, and resisted as manfully as he could. This sore Combat lasted for above half a day, even till *Christian* was almost quite spent. For you must know that *Christian* by reason of his wounds, must needs grow weaker and weaker. Christian *wounded in his understanding, faith and conversation.*

Then *Apollyon* espying his opportunity, began to gather up close to *Christian*, and wrestling with him, gave him a dreadful fall; and with that, *Christians* Sword flew out of his hand. Then said *Apollion, I am sure of thee now;* and with that, he had almost prest him to death, so that *Christian* began to despair of life. But as God would have it, while *Apollyon* was fetching of his last blow, thereby Apollyon *casteth down to the ground* [8] *the* Christian.

[5] 2nd and sub. edits.
[7] Italics, 2nd and sub. edits.
[8] 'the,' omitted in 2nd and sub. edits.



A more unequal match can hardly be,
Christian must fight an Angel; but you see,
The valiant man by handling Sword and Shield,
Doth make him, tho' a Dragon, quit the field.

Copied from the thirteenth edition, 1692.

to make a full end of this good Man, *Christian* nimbly reached out his hand for his Sword, and caught it, saying, *Rejoyce not against me, O mine Enemy! when I fall, I shall arise;* and with that, gave him a deadly thrust, which made him give back, as one that had received his mortal wound: *Christian* perceiving that, made at him again, saying, *Nay, in all these things we are more than Conquerors,* '[1]*through him that loved us.*' And with that, *Apollyon* spread forth his Dragons wings, and sped him away, that *Christian* [2]for a season saw him no more.

Christians victory over Apollyon. '[1]‡ Mic. 7. 8.' '[1]† Rom. 8. 37.' Jam. 4. 7.

In this Combat no man can imagine, unless he had seen and heard as I did, what yelling, and hideous roaring *Apollyon* made all the time of the fight, he spake like a Dragon: and on the other side, what sighs and groans [3]brast from *Christians* heart. I never saw him all the while, give so much as one pleasant look, till he perceived he had wounded *Apollyon* with his two edged Sword, then indeed he did smile, and look upward: but 'twas the dreadfullest sight that ever I saw.

A brief relation of the Combat by the spectator.

So when the Battel was over, *Christian* said, I will here give thanks to him that hath delivered me out of the mouth of the Lion; to him that did help me against *Apollyon:* and so he did, saying,

Christian gives God thanks for deliverance.

Great Beelzebub, *the Captain of this Fiend,*
Design'd my ruin; therefore to this end
He sent him harnest out, and he with rage
That Hellish was, did fiercely me Ingage:
But blessed Michael *helped me, and I*
By dint of Sword, did quickly make him flye;
Therefore to him let me give lasting praise,
And thank and bless his holy name always.

[1] 2nd and sub. edits.
[2] 'for a season,' omitted in 2nd and sub. edits.
[3] 'groans burst,' 2nd and sub. edits.

Then there came to him an hand, with some of the leaves of the Tree of Life, the which *Christian* took, and applyed to the wounds that he had received in the Battel, and was healed immediately. He also sat down in that place to eat Bread, and to drink of the Bottle that was given him a little before; so being refreshed, he addressed himself to his Journey, with his [a]Sword drawn in his hand, for he said, I know not but some other Enemy may be at hand. But he met with no other affront from *Apollyon*, quite through this Valley.

[a] Christian goes on his Journey with his Sword drawn in his hand.

Now at the end of this Valley, was another, called the Valley of the *Shadow of Death*, and *Christian* must needs go through it, because the way to the Cœlestial City lay through the midst of it: Now this Valley is a very solitary place. The Prophet [b]*Jeremiah* thus describes it, *A Wilderness, a Land of desarts, and of Pits, a Land of drought, and of the shadow of death, a Land that no Man* (but a Christian) *passeth through, and where no man dwelt.*

[2] 'The Valley of the shadow of Death.'

[b] Jer. 2. 6.

Now here *Christian* was worse put to it then in his fight with *Apollyon*, as by the sequel you shall see.

I saw then in my Dream, that when *Christian* was got to the Borders of the Shadow of Death, there met him two Men, [c]Children of them that brought up an evil report of the good Land, making hast to go back: to whom *Christian* spake as follows,

[c] The Children of the Spies go back.

[3] '* Numb 13.'

Chr. *Whither are you going?*

Men. They said, Back, back; and [3]'we' would have you to do so too, if either life or peace is prized by you.

Chr. *Why? whats the matter? said* Christian.

Men. Matter! said they; we were going that way as you are going, and went as far as we durst; and indeed we were almost past coming back, for had

[2] 8th and sub. edits. [3] 2nd and sub. edits.

we gone a little further, we had not been here to bring the news to thee.

Chr. *But what have you met with, said* Christian?

Men. Why we were almost in the Valley of the shadow of death, but that by good hap we looked before us, and saw the danger before we came to it. Psal. 44. 19.[4] Psal. 107. 10.

Chr. *But what have you seen, said* Christian?

Men. Seen! why the Valley it self, which is as dark as pitch; we also saw there the Hobgoblins, Satyrs, and Dragons of the Pit: we heard also in that Valley a continual howling and yelling, as of a people under unutterable misery; who there sat bound in affliction and Irons: and over that Valley hangs the discouraging [d]Clouds of confusion, death also doth always spread his wings over it: in a word, it is every whit dreadful, being utterly without Order. [d] Job 3. 5. ch. 10. 22.

Chr. Then said Christian, *I perceive not yet, by what you have said, but that* [e]*this is my way to the desired Haven.* [e] Jer. 2. 6.

Men. Be it thy way, we will not chuse it for ours; so they parted, and *Christian* went on his way, but still with his Sword drawn in his hand, for fear lest he should be assaulted.

I saw then in my Dream, so far as this Valley reached, there was on the right hand a very deep Ditch; That Ditch is it into which the blind have led the blind in all Ages, and have both there miserably perished. Again, behold on the left hand, there was a very dangerous Quagg, into which, if even a good man falls, he [5]can find no bottom for his foot to stand on. Into that Quagg Psal. 69. 14.

[4] The errors in these quotations in the editions subsequent to the 2nd are singular: 3rd to 7th, Ps. 44. 29; Ps. 107. 19; 8th, Psal. 4. 19; Psal. 107. 19; 9th, 1683, Ps. 23. 4; Ps. 107. 19; 9th, 1684, Ps. 4. 19; Ps. 117. 19; 10th, Ps. 4. 19; Ps. 117. 19. Sturt's *correct* edits. Ps. 44. 29; Ps. 107. 19.

[5] In 2nd and sub. edits., 'he find,' doubtless a typ. error in omitting the word, 'can'; the first is right.

King David *once did fall*, and had no doubt therein been smothered, had not He that is able, pluckt him out.

The path-way was here also exceeding narrow, and therefore good *Christian* was the more put to it; for when he sought in the dark to shun the ditch on the one hand, he was ready to tip over into the mire on the other; also when he sought to escape the mire, without great carefulness he would be ready to fall into the ditch. Thus he went on, and I heard him here sigh bitterly: for besides the dangers mentioned above, the path-way was here so dark, that oft times when he lift up his foot to set forward, he knew not where, or upon what he should set it next.

About the midst of this Valley, I perceived the mouth of Hell to be, and it stood also hard by the way side: Now thought *Christian*, what shall I do? And ever and anon the flame and smoak would come out in such abundance, with sparks and hideous noises, (things that cared not for *Christians* Sword, as did *Apollyon* before) that he was forced to put up his Sword, and betake himself to another weapon called [f]*All Prayer*, so he cried in my hearing, [g]*O Lord I beseech thee deliver my Soul.* Thus he went on a great while, yet still the flames would be reaching towards him: also he heard doleful voices, and rushings too and fro, so that sometimes he thought he should be torn in pieces, or troden down like mire in the Streets. This frightful sight was seen, and these dreadful noises were heard by him for several miles together: and coming to a place, where he thought he heard a company of *Fiends* coming forward to meet him, he stopt, and began to muse what he had best to do. Somtimes he had half a thought to go back. Then again he thought he might be half way through the

[f] Eph. 6. 18.

[g] Psal. 116. 4.[6]

Christian *put to a stand, but for a while.*

[6] All the editions refer to Ps. 116. 3.



Poor man! where art thou now? thy day is night.
Good man be not cast down, thou yet art right.
Thy way to Heaven, lies by the gates of Hell;
Chear up, hold out, with thee it shall go well.

Copied from the edition of 1692.

Valley; he remembred also how he had already vanquished many a danger: and that the danger of going back might be much more, than for to go forward, so he resolved to go on. Yet the *Fiends* seemed to come nearer and nearer, but when they were come even almost at him, he cried out with a most vehement voice, *I will walk in the strength of the Lord God;* so they gave back, and came no further.

One thing I would not let slip, I took notice that now poor *Christian* was so confounded, that he did not know his own voice: and thus I perceived it: Just when he was come over against the mouth of the burning Pit, one of the wicked ones got behind him, and stept up softly to him, and whisperingly suggested many grievous blasphemies to him, which he [a]verily thought had proceeded from his own mind. This put *Christian* more to it than any thing that he met with before, even to think that he should now blaspheme him that he loved so much before; yet [7]could he have helped it, he would not have done it: but he had not the discretion neither to stop his ears, nor to know from whence those blasphemies came.

[a] Christian *made believe that he spake blasphemies, when 'twas Satan that suggested them into his mind.*

When *Christian* had travelled in this disconsolate condition some considerable time, he thought he heard the voice of a man, as going before him, saying, *Though I walk through the valley of the shaddow of death, I will fear none ill, for thou art with me.*

Psal. 23. 4.

Then was he glad, and that for these reasons:

First, Because he gathered from thence that some who feared God were in this Valley as well as himself.

Secondly, For that he perceived God was with them, though in that dark and dismal state; and why not, thought he, with me, though by reason of

Job 9. 10.

[7] 'if he could,' 2nd and sub. edits.

the impediment that attends this place, I cannot perceive it.

Thirdly, For that he hoped (could he over-take them) to have company by and by. So he went on, and called to him that was before, but he knew not what to answer, for that he '[9]also' thought himself to be alone: And by and by, the day broke; then said *Christian*, **He hath turned the shadow of death into the morning.* Christian glad at break of day. Amos 5. 8.

Now morning being come, he looked back, not '[2]out' of desire to return, but to see, by the light of the day, what hazards he had gone through in the dark. So he saw more perfectly the Ditch that was on the one hand, and the Quag that was on the other; also how narrow the way was which [3]lay betwixt them both; also now he saw the Hobgoblins, and Satyrs, and Dragons of the Pit, but all afar off, for after break of day, they came not nigh; yet they were discovered to him, according to that which is written, *He discovereth deep things out of darkness, and bringeth out to light the shadow of death.* '[9] Job 12. 22.'

Now was *Christian* much affected with his deliverance from all the dangers of his solitary way, which dangers, [4]tho he feared them more before, yet he saw them more clearly now, because the light of the day made them conspicuous to him; and about this time the Sun was rising, and this was another mercy to *Christian:* for you must note, that [4]tho the first part of the Valley of the Shadow of death was dangerous, yet this second part which he was yet to go, was, [5]if possible, far more dangerous: for from the place where he now stood, even to the end of the Valley, the way was all along set so full of Snares, Traps, Gins, and Nets here, and so full of '* *The second part of this Valley very dangerous.*'

[9] 2nd and sub. edits.
[2] Added after the 3rd edit.
[3] 'led,' after the 2nd edit.
[4] 'though,' 2nd and sub. edits.
[5] '(if possible)' 3rd and sub.

Pits, Pitfalls, deep holes and shelvings down there, that had it now been dark, as it was when he came the first part of the way, had he had a thousand souls, they had in reason been cast away; but as I said, just now the Sun was rising. Then said he,

Job 29. 3. *His candle shineth on my head, and by his light I go through darkness.*

In this light therefore, he came to the end of the Valley. Now I saw in my Dream, that at the end of this Valley lay blood, bones, ashes, and mangled bodies of men, even of Pilgrims that had gone this way formerly: And while I was musing what should be the reason, I espied a little before me a Cave, where two Giants, *Pope* and *Pagan*, dwelt in old time, by whose Power and Tyranny the Men whose bones, blood, ashes, &c. lay there, were cruelly put to death. But by this place *Christian* went without much danger, whereat I somewhat wondered; but I have learnt since, that *Pagan* has been dead many a day; and as for the other, though he be yet alive, he is by reason of age, and also of the many shrewd brushes that he met with in his younger dayes, grown so crazy, and stiff in his joynts, that he can now do little more than sit in his Caves mouth, grinning at Pilgrims as they go by, and biting his nails, because he cannot come at them.

So I saw that *Christian* went on his way, yet at the sight of the *old Man*, that sat in the mouth of the *Cave*, he could not tell what to think, specially because he spake to him, though he could not go after him; saying, *You will never mend, till more of you be burned:* but he held his peace, and set a good face on't, and so went by, and catcht no hurt. Then sang *Christian*,

O world of wonders! (I can say no less)
That I should be preserv'd in that distress

That I have met with here! O blessed bee
That hand that from it hath delivered me!
Dangers in darkness, Devils, Hell, and Sin,
Did compass me, while I this Vale was in:
Yea, Snares, and Pits, and Traps, and Nets did lie
My path about, that worthless silly I
Might have been catch't, intangled, and cast down:
But since I live, let Jesus *wear the Crown.*

Now as *Christian* went on his way, he came to a little ascent, which was cast up on purpose, that Pilgrims might see before them: up there therefore *Christian* went, and looking forward, he saw *Faithful* before him, upon his Journey. Then said *Christian* aloud, Ho, ho, So-ho; stay and I will be your Companion. At that *Faithful* looked behind him, to whom *Christian* cried again, Stay, stay, till I come up to you: But *Faithful* answered, No, I am upon my life, and the Avenger of Blood is behind me. At this *Christian* was somwhat moved, and putting to all his strength, he quickly got up with *Faithful*, and did also over-run him, so the *last was first.* Then did *Christian* vain-gloriously smile, because he had gotten the start of his Brother: but not taking good heed to his feet, he suddenly stumbled and fell, and could not rise again, untill *Faithful* came up to help him.

Christian *overtakes* Faithful.

Then I saw in my Dream, they went very lovingly on together; and had sweet discourse of all things that had happened to them in their Pilgrimage; and thus *Christian* began.

Christians *fall, makes* Faithful *and he go lovingly together.*

Chr. *My honoured and well beloved Brother* Faithful, *I am glad that I have overtaken you; and that God has so tempered our spirits, that we can walk as Companions in this so pleasant a path.*

Fai. I had thought dear friend, to have had your company quite from our Town, but you did get the

start of me; wherefore I was forced to come thus much of the way alone.

Chr. *How long did you stay in the City of* Destruction, *before you set out after me on your Pilgrimage?*

Their talk about the Countrey from whence they came.

Fai. Till I could stay no longer; for there was great talk presently after you was[6] gone out, that our City would in short time with Fire from Heaven be burned down to the ground.

Chr. *What! Did your Neighbours talk so?*

Faith. Yes, 'twas for a while in every bodies mouth.

Chr. *What, and did no more of them but you come out to escape the danger?*

Faith. Though there was, as I said, a great talk thereabout, yet I do not think they did firmly believe it. For in the heat of the discourse, I heard some of them deridingly speak of you, and of your desperate Journey, (for so they called this your Pilgrimage) but I did believe, and do still, that the end of our City will be with Fire and Brimstone from above: and therefore I have made mine escape.

Chr. *Did you hear no talk of Neighbour* Pliable?

Faith. Yes *Christian*, I heard that he followed you till he came at the Slough of *Dispond*, where, as some said, he fell in; but he would not be known to have so done: but I am sure he was soundly bedabled with that kind of dirt.

Chr. *And what said the Neighbours to him?*

How Plyable *was accounted of when he got home.*

Faith. He hath, since his going back, been had greatly in derision, and that among all sorts of People: some do mock and despise him, and scarce will any set him on work. He is now seven times worse than if he had never gone out of the City.

Chr. *But why should they be so set against him, since they also despise the way that he forsook?*

Faith. O, they say, Hang him, he is a Turn-

[6] 'were,' 2nd and sub. edits.

Coat, he was not true to his profession. I think God has [8]stired up even his Enemies to hiss at him, and make him a Proverb, because he hath forsaken the way. Jer. 29. 18, 19.

Chr. *Had you no talk with him before you came out?*

Faith. I met him once in the Streets, but he leered away on the other side, as one ashamed of what he had done; so I spake not to him.

Chr. *Well, at my first setting out, I had hopes of that Man; but now I fear he will perish in the overthrow of the City, for it is happened to him, according to the true Proverb, The Dog is turned to his Vomit again, and the Sow that was Washed to her wallowing in the mire.* [9]'*2 Pet. 2. 22.' The Dog and [1]'the' Sow.

Faith. They are my fears of him too: But who can hinder that which will be?

'[9]*Chr.*' Well Neighbour *Faithful*, said *Christian*, let us leave him; and talk of things that more immediately concern ourselves. *Tell me now, what you have met with in the way as you came; for I know you have met with some things, or else it may be writ for a wonder.*

Faith. I escaped the Slough that I [2]perceive you fell into, and got up to the Gate without that danger; only I met with one whose name was *Wanton*, that had like to have done me a mischief. Faithful *assaulted by* Wanton.

Chr. *'Twas well you escaped her Net;* Joseph *was hard put to it by her, and he escaped her as you did, but it had like to have cost him his life. But what did she do to you?* 'Gen. 39. 11, 12, 13.'

Faith. You cannot think (but that you know somthing) what a flattering tongue she had, she lay at me hard to turn aside with her, promising me all manner of content.

[8] 'stirred,' sub. to 1st. edit.
[9] 2nd and sub. edits.
[1] 'the,' in the 7th edit. only.
[2] 'perceived,' 3rd and sub.

Chr. *Nay, she did not promise you the content of a good conscience.*

Faith. You know [4]what I mean, all carnal and fleshly content.

[a] Pro. 22. 14. Chr. *Thank God you have escaped her: The* [a]*abhorred of the Lord shall fall into her Ditch.*

Faith. Nay, I know not whether I did wholly escape her, or no.

Chr. *Why, I* [5]*tro you did not consent to her desires?*

Faith. No, not to defile my self; for I remembered an old writing that I had seen, which saith,

Pro. 5. 5. *Her steps take hold of hell.* So I shut mine eyes,

Job 31. 1. because I would not be bewitched with her looks: then she railed on me, and I went [6]my way.

Chr. *Did you meet with no other assault as you came?*

Faith. When I came to the foot of the Hill called *Difficulty*, I met with a very aged Man, who asked

He is assaulted by Adam *the first.* me, *What I was, and whither bound?* I told him, That I was a Pilgrim, going to the Cœlestial City: Then said the Old Man, *Thou lookest like an honest fellow; Wilt thou be content to dwell with me, for the wages that I shall give thee?* Then I asked him his name, and where he dwelt? He said his name was *Adam the first, and* [7]*do dwell in the Town of*

[b] Eph. 4. 22. [b]*Deceit.* I asked him then, What was his work? and what the wages that he would give? He told me, That his work was *many delights; and his wages, that I should be his Heir at last.* I further asked him, What House he kept, and what other Servants he had? so he told me, *That his House was maintained with all the dainties in the world, and that his Servants were those of his own begetting.* Then

[4] 'know that,' 3rd to the 9th, 1683, and 10th edits.

[5] 'I tro,' or I trow—*I believe.*

[6] 'away,' 7th edit.

[7] 'I dwell,' 2nd to 7th; 'that he dwelt,' 8th and sub.

I asked, [8]if he had any children? He said that he had but three Daughters, *The* [9]*lusts of the flesh,* [c]1 John 2. *the* [9]*lusts of the eyes, and the pride of life;* and that [16] I should marry them [1]all, if I would. Then I asked, how long time he would have me live with him? And he told me *As long as he lived himself.*

Chr. *Well, and what conclusion came the* Old Man *and you to, at last?*

Faith. Why, at first, I found my self somewhat inclinable to go with the Man, for I thought he spake very fair; But looking in his forehead as I talked with him, I saw there written, *Put off the old Man with his deeds.*

Chr. *And how then?*

Faith. Then it came burning hot into my mind, whatever he said, and however he flattered, when he got me home to his House, he would sell me for a Slave. So I bid him forbear to talk, for I would not come near the door of his House. Then he reviled me, and told me that he would send such a one after me, that should make my way bitter to my soul: So I turned to go away from him: But just as I turned my self to go thence, I felt him take hold of my flesh, and give me such a deadly twitch back, that I thought he had pull'd part of me after himself; This made me cry, [d]*O wretched Man!* So [d]Rom. 7. 24. I went on my way up the Hill.

Now when I had got about half way up, I looked behind me, and saw one coming after me, swift as the wind; so he overtook me just about the place where the Settle stands.

Chr. *Just there,* said *Christian, did I sit down to rest me; but, being overcome with sleep, I there lost this Roll out of my bosom.*

Faith. But good Brother hear me out: So soon

[8] 'how many Children he had?' 2nd and sub.

[9] 'lust,' 3rd and sub.

[1] 'all,' omitted from 2nd and sub. edits.

as the Man over-took me, he was but a word and a blow: for down he knockt me, and laid me for dead. But when I was a little come to my self again, I asked him wherefore he served me so? he said, Because of my secret inclining to *Adam the first;* and with that, he strook me another deadly blow on the [2]brest, and beat me down backward, so I lay at his foot as dead as before. So when I came to my self again, I cried him mercy; but he said, I know not '[3]how' to show mercy, and with that knockt me down again. He had doubtless made [4]a hand of me, but that one came by, and bid him forbear.

Chr. *Who was that, that bid him forbear?*

Faith. I did not know him at first, but as he went by, I perceived the holes in his hands, and [5]' in' his side; then I concluded that he was our Lord. So I went up the Hill.

The temper of Moses.

Chr. *That Man that overtook you, was Moses.*[e] *he spareth none, neither knoweth he how to shew mercy to those that transgress his Law.*

Faith. I know it very well, it was not the first time that he has met with me. 'Twas he that came to me when I dwelt securely at home, and that told me, He would burn my House over my head, if I staid there.

Chr. *But did not* [6]*you see the House that stood there on the top of that Hill, on the side of which* Moses *met you?*

Faith. Yes, and the Lions too, before I came at it; but for the Lions, I think they were asleep, for it was about Noon; and because I had so much of the day before me, I passed by the Porter, and came down the Hill.

Chr. *He told me indeed that he saw you go by, but*

[2] Spelt 'breast' in 2nd and sub.
[3] Added to the 2nd and sub.
[4] 'made an end,' 2nd and sub.
[5] Added to 8th and sub.
[6] 'you not,' 3rd and sub. edits.

I wish you had called at the House; for they would have shewed you so many Rarities, that you would scarce have forgot them to the day of your death. But pray tell me, Did you meet nobody in the Valley of Humility?

Faith. Yes, I met with one *Discontent*, who would willingly have perswaded me to go back again with him: his reason was, for that the Valley was altogether without *Honour;* he told me moreover, That there to go, was the way to disobey all my Friends, as [7]Pride, Arogancy, Self-Conceit, worldly Glory, with others, who he knew, as he said, would be very much offended, if I made such a Fool of my self as to wade through this Valley. Faithful *assaulted by* Discontent.

Chr. *Well, and how did you answer him?*

Faith. I told him, That although all these that he named might claim kindred of me, and that rightly, (for indeed they were my Relations, *according to the flesh*) yet since I became a Pilgrim, they have disowned me, as I also have rejected them; and therefore they were to me now, no more than if they had never been of my Linage; I told him moreover, That as to this Valley, he had quite mis-represented the thing: *for before Honour is Humility, and a haughty spirit before a fall.* Therefore said I, I had rather go through this Valley to the Honour that was so accounted by the wisest, than chuse that which he esteemed most [8]worth our affections. Faithfuls *answer to* Discontent.

Chr. *Met you with nothing else in that Valley?*

Faith. Yes, I met with *Shame;* But of all the Men that I met with in my Pilgrimage, he I think bears the wrong name: the other would be said nay, after a little argumentation, (and some what else) but this bold faced *Shame*, would never have done. *He is assaulted with* Shame.

[7] These names are in italics in the 2nd and sub. edits.

[8] 'worthy,' 3rd and sub.

Chr. *Why, what did he say to you.*

Faith. What! why he objected against Religion it self; he said it was a pitiful low sneaking business for a Man to mind Religion; he said that a tender conscience was an un-manly thing, and that for a Man to watch over his words and ways, so as to tye up himself from that hectoring liberty, that the brave spirits of the times accustom themselves unto, would make [9]me the Ridicule of the times. He objected also, That but few of the Mighty, Rich, or Wise, were ever of my opinion; nor any of them, '[1]neither,' before they were perswaded to be Fools, and to be of a voluntary fondness, to venture the loss of all, *for no body else knows what.* He moreover objected the base and low estate and condition of those that were chiefly the Pilgrims of the times, in which they lived, also their ignorance, and want of understanding in all natural Science. Yea, he did hold me to it at that rate also, about a great many more things than here I relate; as, that it was a *shame* to sit whining and mourning under a Sermon, and a *shame* to come sighing and groaning home. That it was a shame to ask my Neighbour forgiveness for petty faults, or to make restitution where I had taken from any: He said also that Religion made a man grow strange to the great, because of a few vices (which he called by finer names) and made him own and respect the base, because of the same Religious fraternity. And is not this, said he, a shame?

1 Cor. 1. 26. ch. 3. 18. Phil. 3. 7. 8.

'[1]* John. 7. 48.'

Chr. And what did you say to him?

Faith. Say! I could not tell what to say at [2]the first. Yea, he put me so to it, that my blood came up in my face, even this *Shame* fetch't it up, and had almost beat me quite off. But at last I began

[9] 'make the ridicule,' 2nd; 'make him the Ridicule,' 3rd and sub.

[1] Added to the 2nd and sub.

[2] 'the,' omitted in 2nd and sub. edits.

to consider, *That that which is highly esteemed among Men, is had in abomination with God.* And I thought again, This *Shame* tells me what [3]men are, but it tells me nothing what God, or the word of God is. And I thought moreover, That at the day of doom, we shall not be doomed to death or life, according to the hectoring spirits of the world; but according to the Wisdom and Law of the Highest. Therefore thought I, what God says, is best, 'indeed'[4] is best, though all the Men in the world are against it. Seeing then, that God prefers his Religion, seeing God prefers a tender Conscience, seeing they that make themselves Fools for the Kingdom of Heaven, are wisest; and that the poor '[5]man' that loveth Christ, is richer then the greatest Man in the world that hates him; *Shame* depart, thou art an Enemy to my Salvation: shall I entertain thee against my Soveraign Lord? How then shall I look him in the face at his coming? Should I now be *ashamed* of his ways and Servants, how can I expect the blessing? But indeed this *Shame* was a bold Villain; I could scarce shake him out of my company; yea, he would be haunting of me, and continually whispering me in the ear, with some one or other of the infirmities that attend Religion: but at last I told him, 'Twas but in vain to attempt further in this business; for those things that he disdained, in those did I see most glory: And so at last I got past this *importunate* one. '[6]And when I had shaken him off, then I be-'gan to sing'

[2]* Luke 16. 15.

Mar. 8. 38.

The tryals that those men do meet withal
That are obedient to the Heavenly call,

[2] Added to 2nd and sub. edits.
[3] '*men*,' italics, 2nd to 7th.
[4] 'indeed,' 8th edit. and sub.
[5] 'man,' added to 2nd and sub.
[6] First inserted in the 2nd edit., and continued subsequently.

Are manifold, and suited to the flesh,
And come, and come, and come again afresh;
That now, or somtime else, we by them may
Be taken, overcome, and cast away.
O let the Pilgrims, let the Pilgrims then,
Be vigilant, and quit themselves like men.

Chr. *I am glad, my Brother, that thou didst withstand* [7]*this Villain so bravely; for of all, as thou sayst, I think he has the wrong name: for he is so bold as to follow us in the Streets, and to attempt to put us to* [7]*shame before all men; that is, to make us* [7]*ashamed of that which is good: but if he was not himself audacious, he would never attempt to do as he does, but let us still resist him: for notwithstanding all his Bravadoes, he promoteth the Fool, and none else.*

Prov 3. 35. The Wise shall Inherit Glory *said* Solomon, but shame shall be the promotion of Fools.

Faith. *I think we must cry to him for help against shame, that would have us '*[8]*to' be valiant for* [9]*the Truth upon the Earth.*

Chr. *You say true. But did you meet no body else in that Valley?*

Faith. No, not I, for I had Sun-shine all the rest of the way, through that, and also through the Valley of the shadow of death.

Chr. *'Twas well for you, I am sure it fared far otherwise with me.* I had for a long season, as soon almost as I entred into that Valley, a dreadful Combat with that foul Fiend *Apollyon:* Yea, I thought verily he would have killed me; especially when he got me down, and crusht me under him, as if he would have crusht me to pieces. For as he threw me, my Sword flew out of my hand; nay he told

[7] 'this,' and 'shame,' and 'ashamed,' roman, 2nd and sub. edits.

[8] 7th edit.

[9] 'the,' omitted in 2nd and sub.

me *He was sure of me:* but *I cried to God, and he heard me, and delivered me out of all my troubles.* Then I entred into the Valley of the shadow of death, and had no light for almost half the way through it. I thought I should [1]a been killed there, over, and over; But at last, day brake, and the Sun [2]rise, and I went through that which was behind with far more ease and quiet.

Moreover, I saw in my Dream, that as they went on, *Faithful*, as he chanced to look on one side, saw a Man whose name is *Talkative*, walking at a distance besides them, (for in this place, there was room enough for them all to walk) *He was a tall Man, and somthing more comely at a distance than at hand.* To this Man *Faithful* addressed himself in this manner. Talkative *described.*

Faith. *Friend, Whither away? Are you going to the Heavenly Countrey?*

Talk. I am going to [3]that same place.

Faith. *That [4]is well; Then I hope we may have your good Company.*

Talk. With a very good will, will I be your Companion.

Faithful *and* Talkative *enter discourse.*

Faith. *Come on then, and let us go together, and let us spend our time in discoursing of things that are profitable.*

Talk. To talk of things that are good, to me is very acceptable, with you, or with any other; and I am glad that I have met with those that incline to so good a work. For to speak the truth, there are but few that care thus to spend their time (as they are in their travels) but chuse much rather to be speaking of things to no profit, and this hath been a trouble to me. Talkatives *dislike of bad discourse.*

Faith. *That is indeed a thing to be lamented; for*

[1] 'a,' altered to 'have,' in 2nd and sub. edits.
[2] 'rose,' 2nd and sub.
[3] 'to the same,' 3rd and sub. edits.
[4] 'That's,' 7th edit.

what things so worthy of the use of the tongue and mouth of men on Earth, as are the things of the God of Heaven?

Talk. I like you wonderful well, for your [5]saying is full of conviction; and I will add, What thing '[6]is' so pleasant, and what so profitable, as to talk of the things of God?

What things so pleasant? (that is, if a man hath any delight in things that are wonderful) for instance: If a man doth delight to talk of the History or the Mystery of things, or if a man doth love to talk of Miracles, Wonders or Signs, where shall he find things Recorded so delightful, and so sweetly penned, as in the holy Scripture?

Faith. *That's true: but to be profited by such things in our talk, should be* [7]*that which we design.*

† Talkative's fine Discourse.

Talk. That is it that I said: for to *talk* of such things is most profitable, for by so doing, a Man may get knowledge of many things, as of the vanity of earthly things, and the benefit of things above: (thus in general) but more particularly, By this a man may learn the necessity of the New-birth, the insufficiency of our works, the need of Christs righteousness, etc. Besides, by this a man may learn by [8]*talk*, what it is to repent, to believe, to pray, to suffer, or the like: by this also a Man may learn what are the great promises and consolations of the Gospel, to his own comfort. Further, by this a Man may learn to refute false opinions, to vindicate the truth, and also to instruct the ignorant.

Faith. *All this is true, and glad am I to hear these things from you.*

Talk. Alas! the want of this is the cause that so few understand the need of faith, and the necessity

[5] 'sayings is,' 3rd; 'sayings are,' 7th and sub.

[6] 'is,' added 3rd and sub.

[7] In the 13th edit., 1692, 'our chief design.'

[8] 'by talk,' omitted in 3rd edit. and sub.

of [9]a work of Grace in their Soul, in order to eternal life: but ignorantly live in the works of the Law, by which a man can by no means obtain the Kingdom of Heaven.

Faith. *But by your leave, Heavenly knowledge of these, is the gift of God; no man attaineth to them by humane industry, or only by the talk of them.*

Talk. All this I know very well, for a man can receive nothing except it be given him from Heaven; all is of Grace, not of works: I could give you an hundred Scriptures for the confirmation of this. *O brave* Talkative.

Faith. *Well, then, said* Faithful, *what is that one thing, that we shall at this time found our discourse upon?*

Talk. What you will: I will talk of things Heavenly, or things Earthly; things Moral, or things Evangelical; things Sacred, or things Prophane; things past, or things to come; things [1]forraign, or things at home; things more Essential, or things Circumstantial; provided that all be done to our profit. *O brave* Talkative.

Faith. Now did *Faithful* begin to wonder; *and stepping to* Christian, *(for he walked all this while by himself,) he said to him, (but softly) What a brave Companion have we got! Surely this man will make a very excellent Pilgrim.* Faithful *beguiled by* Talkative.

Chr. At this *Christian* modestly smiled, and said, This man with whom you are so taken, will beguile with this tongue of his, twenty of them that know him not. Christian *makes a discovery of* Talkative, *telling* Faithful *who he was.*

Faith. *Do you know him then?*

Chr. Know him! [2]Yes, better than he knows himself.

Faith. *Pray what is he?*

[9] 'a works,' 3rd edit.; 'the works,' 7th; 'a work of Grace in their souls,' 9th, 1684.

[1] 'foreign,' 2nd and sub.

[2] 'yea,' 7th edit.

Chr. His name is *Talkative*, he dwelleth in our Town; I wonder that you should be a stranger to him, only I consider that our Town is large.

Faith. *Whose son is he? And whereabout doth he dwell?*

Chr. He is the son of one *Saywell*, he dwelt in *Prating-row;* and he is known of all that are acquainted with him, by the name of *Talkative* in *Prating-row:* and notwithstanding his fine tongue, he is but a sorry fellow.

Faith. *Well, he seems to be a very pretty man.*

Chr. That is, to them that have not through acquaintance with him, for he is best abroad, near home he is ugly enough: your saying, That he is a *pretty man*, brings to my mind what I have observed in the work of the Painter, whose Pictures [4]shews best at a distance; but very near, more unpleasing.

Faith. *But I am ready to think you do but* [5]jest, *because you* [5]smiled.

Chr. God forbid that I should *jest*, (though I smiled) in this matter, or that I should accuse any falsely; I will give you a further discovery of him: This man is for any company, and for any *talk;* as he *talketh now* with you, so will he *talk* when he is on the *Ale-bench:* and the more drink he hath [6]in his crown, the more of these things he hath in his [7]mouth: Religion hath no place in his heart, or house, or conversation; all he hath, lieth in his *tongue*, and his Religion is to make a noise *therewith.*

Faith. *Say you so! Then am I in this man greatly deceived.*

Chr. Deceived! you may be sure of it. Re-

[4] 'shew,' 2nd and sub. edits.
[5] Italics, 2nd and sub.
[6] 'hath on,' 3rd edit. to 7th; restored to 'hath in,' 8th and sub. edits.
[7] The 2nd edit. here adds, 'crown, the more of these things he hath in his:' this must have been a typographical error in printing the same line twice.

member the Proverb, *They say and do not; but the Kingdom of God is not in word, but in power.* He *talketh* of Prayer, of Repentance, of Faith, and of the New Birth: but he knows but only to *talk* of them. I have been in his Family, and have observed him both at home and abroad; and I know what I say of him is the truth. His house is as empty of Religion, *as the white of an Egg is of savour.* There is there, neither Prayer, nor sign of Repentance for sin: Yea, the [8]bruit in his kind serves God far better than he. He is the very stain, reproach, and shame of Religion to all that know him; it can hardly have a good word in all that end of the Town where he dwells, through him. Thus say the common People that know him, *A* Saint *abroad, and a* Devil *at home:* His poor Family finds it so, he is such a *churl*, such a railer at, and so unreasonable with his Servants, that they neither know how to do for, or speak to him. Men that have any dealings with him, say 'tis better to deal with a Turk then with him, for fairer dealing they shall have at their hands. This *Talkative*, if it be possible, will go beyond them, defraud, beguile, and over-reach them. Besides, he brings up his Sons to follow his steps; and if he findeth in any of them *a foolish timorousness* (for so he calls the first appearance of a tender conscience) he calls them fools and blockheads; and by no means will imploy them in much, or speak to their commendations before others. For my part I am of opinion, that he has by his wicked life caused many to stumble and fall; and will be, if God prevent not, the ruine of many more.

Mat. 23. 1 Cor. 4. 20. *Talkative talks, but does not.*

His house is empty of Religion.

He is a stain to Religion. Rom. 2. 24, 25.

The Proverb that goes of him.

Men shun to deal with him.

Faith. *Well, my Brother, I am bound to believe you; not only because you say you know him, but*

[8] 'brute,' 10th edit. By a curious typographical error, all Sturt's very correct editions have 'the Brewer'!

also because like a Christian, you make your reports of men. For I cannot think that you speak these things of ill will, but because it is even so as you say.

Chr. Had I known him no more than you, I might perhaps have thought of him as at the first you did: Yea, had he received this report at *their* hands only that are enemies to Religion, I should have thought it had been a slander: (A Lot that often falls from bad mens mouths upon good mens Names and Professions:) But all these things, yea and a great many more as bad, of my own knowledge I can prove him guilty of. Besides, good men are ashamed of him, they can neither call him *Brother* nor *Friend;* the very naming of him among them, makes them blush, if they know him.

Fa. *Well, I see that* [9]*Saying and* [9]*Doing are two things, and hereafter I shall better observe this distinction.*

Chr. They are *two* things indeed, and are as diverse as are the Soul and the Body: For as the Body without the Soul, is but a dead Carkass; so, *Saying,* if it be alone, is but a dead Carkass also. The Soul of Religion is the practick part: *Pure Religion and undefiled, before God and the Father, is this, To visit the Fatherless and Widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the World.* This *Talkative* is not aware of, he thinks that *hearing* and *saying* will make a good Christian, and thus he deceiveth his own Soul. Hearing is but as the sowing of the Seed; talking is not sufficient to prove that fruit is indeed in the heart and life; and let us assure our selves, that at the day of Doom, men shall be judged according to their fruits. It will not be said then, *Did you believe?* but, were you *Doers,* or *Talkers* only? and accordingly shall they be judged. The end of the World is compared to our Harvest, and you know men at

The Carkass of Religion.

James 1. 27. *see ver.* 22, 23, 24, 25, 26.

See Matt. 13. *and* ch. 25.

[9] 'Saying,' 'Doing,' roman, 2nd and sub.

Harvest regard nothing but Fruit. Not that any thing can be accepted that is not of Faith: But I speak this to show you how insignificant the profession of *Talkative* will be at that day.

Fa. *This brings to my mind that of* Moses, *by which he describeth the beast that is clean. He is such an one that parteth the Hoof, and cheweth the Cud: Not that parteth the Hoof only, or that cheweth the Cud only. The Hare cheweth the Cud, but yet is unclean, because he parteth not the Hoof. And this truly resembleth* Talkative; *he cheweth the Cud, he seeketh knowledge, he cheweth upon the Word, but he divideth not the Hoof, he parteth not with the way of sinners; but as the Hare,* '[1]*he*' *retaineth the foot of a Dog, or Bear, and therefore is unclean.* Levit. 11. Deut. 14. Faithful *convinced of the badness of* Talkative.

Chr. You have spoken, for ought I know, the true Gospel sense of those Texts. and I will add another thing. *Paul* calleth some men, yea and those great Talkers too, sounding Brass, and Tinckling Cymbals; that is, as he Expounds them in another place, *Things without life, giving sound.* Things without life, that is, without the true Faith and Grace of the Gospel; and consequently, things that shall never be placed in the Kingdom of Heaven among those that are the Children of life: Though their *sound*, by their *talk*, be as if it were the *Tongue* or voice of an Angel. 1 Cor. 13. 1, 2, 3. ch. 14. 7. Talkative *like to things that sound without life.*

Fait. *Well, I was not so fond of his company at first, but I am as sick of it now. What shall we do to be rid of him?*

Chr. Take my advice, and do as I bid you, and you shall find that he will soon be sick of your Company too, except God shall touch his heart and turn it.

Fait. *What would you have me to do?*

Chr. Why, go to him, and enter into some serious discourse about *the power of Religion:* And ask

[1] 'he,' added in the 3rd and sub. edits.

him plainly (when he has approved of it, for that he will) whether this thing be set up in his Heart, House or Conversation.

Fait. Then *Faithful* stepped forward again, and said to *Talkative: Come, what chear? how is it now?*

Talk. Thank you, Well. I thought we should have had a great deal of *Talk* by this time.

Fait. *Well, if you will, we will fall to it now; and since you left it with me to state the question, let* '[2]*it*' *be this: How doth the saving grace of God discover it self, when it is in the heart of man?*

Talk. I perceive then that our talk must be *about the power of things;* Well, 'tis a very good question, and I shall be willing to answer you. And take my answer in brief thus. First, *Where the Grace of God is in the heart, it causeth* there *a great outcry against sin.* Secondly,———

Talkatives *false discovery of a work of grace.*

Fait. *Nay hold, let us consider of one at once: I think you should rather say, It showes it self by inclining the Soul to abhor its sin.*

Talk. Why, what difference is there between crying out against, and abhoring of sin?

[3] *To Cry out against sin, no sign of Grace.*

Fait. *Oh! a great deal; a man may cry out against sin, of policy; but he cannot abhor it, but by vertue of a Godly antipathy against it: I have heard many cry out against sin in the Pulpit, who yet can abide it well enough in the heart,* [4]*and house, and conversation.*

Gen. 39. 15. Josephs *Mistris cried out with a loud voice, as if she had been very holy; but she would willingly, notwithstanding that, have committed uncleanness with him. Some cry out against sin, even as the Mother cries out against her Child in her lap, when she calleth it Slut and naughty Girl, and then falls to hugging and kissing it.*

[2] 2nd and sub.
[3] 'They cry out,' 3rd and sub. edits.: corrected to 'The cry out,' 1692.
[4] 'and,' omitted in 2nd and sub.

Talk. You lie at the catch, I perceive.

Fait. *No not I, I am only for setting things right. But what is the second thing whereby you would prove a discovery of a work of grace in the heart?*

Talk. Great knowledge of Gospel Mysteries.

Fait. *This signe should have been first, but first or last, it is also false;* for, *Knowledge, great knowledge, may be obtained in the mysteries of the Gospel, and yet no work of grace in the Soul: Yea, if a man have* all *knowledge, he may yet be nothing, and so consequently be no child of God. When Christ said,* Do you know all these things? *and the Disciples had answered, Yes: He addeth,* Blessed are ye, [4]if ye do them. *He doth not lay the blessing in the* [5]*knowing of them, but in the doing of them. For there is a knowledge that is not attended with doing:* He that knoweth his Masters will, and doth it not. *A man may know like an Angel, and yet be no Christian; therefore your sign* '[6]*of it*' *is not true. Indeed to know, is a thing that pleaseth Talkers and Boasters; but to do, is that which pleaseth God. Not that the heart can be good without knowledge, for without that the heart is naught: There is therefore knowledge and knowledge. Knowledge that resteth in the bare speculation of things, and knowledge that is accompanied with the grace of faith and love, which puts a man upon doing even the will of God from the heart: the first of these will serve the Talker, but without the other the true Christian is not content.* Give me understanding, and I shall keep thy Law, yea I shall observe it with my whole heart. Psal. cxix. 34.

Great knowledge no sign of grace. 1 Cor. 13.

Knowledge and knowledge.

True knowledge attended with endeavours.

Talk. You lie at the catch again, this is not for edification.

Fait. *Well, if you please propound another sign how this work of grace discovereth it self where it is.*

[4] 'that do them,' 7th edit.
[5] 'knowledge,' 7th edit.
[6] 8th and sub. edits.

Talk. Not I, for I see we shall not agree.

Fait. *Well, if you will not, will you give me leave to do it?*

Talk. You may use your Liberty.

One good sign of grace.
Joh. 16. 8.
Rom. 7. 24.
Joh. 16. 9.
Mar 16. 16.
Ps. 38. 18.
Jer. 31. 19.
[b] Gal. 2 16.
Act 4. 12.
Mat. 5. 6.
Rev. 21. 6.

Fait. *A work of grace in the soul discovereth it self, either to him that hath it, or to standers by.*

To him that hath it, thus. *It gives him conviction of sin, especially of the defilement of his nature, and the sin of unbelief, (for the sake of which he is sure to be damned, if he findeth not mercy at Gods hand by faith in Jesus Christ.) This sight and sense of things worketh in him sorrow and shame for sin; he findeth moreover revealed in him the Saviour of the World, and the absolute necessity of closing with him for life, at the which he findeth hungrings and thirstings after him, to which hungrings, etc. the promise is made. Now according to the strength or weakness of his Faith in his Saviour, so is his joy and peace, so is his love to holiness, so are his desires to know him more, and also to serve him in this World. But though I say it discovereth it self thus unto him; yet it is but seldom that he is able to conclude that this is a work of Grace, because his corruptions now, and his abused reason, makes his mind to mis-judge in this matter; therefore in him that hath this work, there is required a very sound Judgement, before he can with steddiness conclude that this is a work of Grace.*

Ro. 10 10.
[g] Phi. 1. 27.
[1] Mat. 5. 9.

To others it is thus discovered.

1. *By an experimental confession of his Faith in Christ.* 2. *By a life answerable to that confession,* to wit, *a life of holiness; heart-holiness, family-holiness, (if he hath a Family) and by Conversation-*

[2] Joh. 14. 15.
[3] Ps. 50. 23.
Job 42. 5, 6.
Ezek. 29. 43.

[8] All the editions refer to Gal. 2. 15.

[9] 'Phil. 2. 17,' 2nd; 'Phil. 8. 17,' 7th and 13th; correct in the 3rd, 8th, 9th, and 10th. Qy. ought it to be 3. 17?

[1] All the edits. agree in this reference, but it ought to be Mat. 5. 19.

[2] Joh. 24. 15, 1st to the 9th, 1683, and 10th; 'John 2.' 9th, 1683.

[3] Ps. 50. 23, 1st edit.; Ps. 50. 20, 2nd. and sub.

holiness in the World: which in the general teacheth him, inwardly to abhor his Sin, and himself for that in secret, to suppress it in his Family, and to promote holiness in the World; not by talk only, as an Hypocrite or Talkative *Person may do: but by a practical Subjection in Faith, and Love, to the power of the word: And now Sir, as to this brief description of the work of Grace, and also the discovery of it, if you have ought to object, object; if not, then give me leave to propound to you a second question.*

Talk. Nay, my part is not now to object, but to hear, let me therefore have your second question.

Faith. It is this, *Do you experience the first part of this description of it? and doth your life and conversation testifie the same? or standeth your Religion* in Word or in Tongue, *and not in* Deed *and* Truth? *pray, if you incline to answer me in this, say no more then you know the God above will say* Amen *to; and also, nothing but what your Conscience can justifie you in:* For, not he that commendeth himself is approved, but whom the Lord commendeth. *Besides, to say I am thus, and thus, when my Conversation, and all my Neighbours tell me I lye, is great wickedness.*

Another good sign of Grace.

Talk. Then *Talkative* at first began to blush, but recovering himself, Thus he replyed, You come now to Experience, to Conscience, and God: and to [4]appeals to him for justification of what is spoken: This kind of discourse I did not expect, nor am I disposed to give an answer to such questions, because, I count not myself bound thereto, unless you take upon you to be a *Catechizer;* and, though you should so do, yet I may refuse to make you my Judge: But I pray will you tell me, why you ask me such questions?

Talkative *not pleased with* Faithfuls *Question.*

Faith. *Because I saw you forward to talk, and because I knew not that you had ought else but notion.*

The reasons why Faithful *put to him that question.*

[4] 'appeal,' 2nd and sub.

Besides, to tell you all the Truth, I have heard of you, that you are a Man whose Religion lies in talk, and that your Conversation gives this your Mouth-profession the lye. They say You are a spot among Christians, and that Religion fareth the worse for your ungodly conversation, that some already have stumbled at your wicked ways, and that more are in danger of being destroyed thereby; your Religion, and an Ale-House, and Covetousness, and uncleanness, and swearing, and lying, and vain Company-keeping, etc. will stand together. The proverb is true of you, which is said of a Whore, to wit, *That she is a shame to all Women; so you are a shame to all Professors.*

Faithfuls *plain dealing* to Talkative.

Talk. Since you are ready to take up reports, and to judge so rashly as you do; I cannot but conclude you are some peevish, or [6]melancholly Man, not fit to be discoursed with, and so adieu.

Talkative *flings away from* Faithful.

Chr. Then came up *Christian*, and said to his Brother, I told you how it would happen, your words and his lusts could not agree; he had rather leave your company, then reform his life: but he is gone as I said, let him go; the loss is no mans but his own, he has saved us the trouble of going from him; for he continuing, [7]as I suppose he will do, as he is, he would have been but a blot in our Company: besides, the Apostle says, *From such withdraw thy self.*

A good riddance.

Faith. *But I am glad we had this little discourse with him, it may happen that he will think of it again; however, I have dealt plainly with him, and so am clear of his blood, if he perisheth.*

Chr. You did well to talk so plainly to him as you did, there is but little of this faithful dealing with men now a days; and that makes Religion [8]so

[6] 'melancholy,' 2nd and subs.
[7] From 'as' to 'do,' in brackets, 2nd and sub. edits.
[8] 'to stink,' 2nd; 'to stink so,' 3rd and sub. edits.

stink in the nostrills of many, as it doth: for they are these *Talkative* Fools, whose Religion is only in word, and are debauched and vain in their Conversation, that (being so much admitted into the Fellowship of the Godly) do [9]stumble the World, blemish Christianity, and grieve the Sincere. I wish that all Men would deal with such as you have done, then should they either be made more conformable to Religion, or the company of Saints would be too hot for them. [1]'Then did *Faithful* say,'

How Talkative *at first lifts up his Plumes!*
How bravely doth he speak! how he presumes
To drive down all before him! but so soon
As Faithful *talks of* Heart-work, *like the Moon*
That's past the full, into the [2]*wain he goes;*
And so will all, but he that Heart-work *knows.*

Thus they went on talking of what they had seen by the way; and so made that way easie, which would otherwise, no doubt, have been tedious to them: for now they went through a Wilderness.

[3]'Now when they were got almost quite out of 'this Wilderness, *Faithful* chanced to cast his eye 'back, and espied one coming after them, and he 'knew him. Oh! said *Faithful* to his Brother, 'who comes yonder? Then *Christian* looked, and 'said, It is my good friend *Evangelist.* [4]Ay, and 'my good friend too, said *Faithful;* for 'twas he 'that set me the way to the Gate. Now was *Evan-* 'Evangelist overtakes them again.
'*gelist* come up unto them, and thus saluted them.

'*Evan.* Peace be with you, dearly beloved, and, 'peace be to your helpers.

[9] 'puzzle,' 2nd and sub. edits.
[1] 'Then did *Faithful* say,' added to the 3rd and sub. edits.
[2] '*wane,*' 7th and sub. edits.
[3] All this interview with Evangelist, as marked with inverted commas, first appeared in the 2nd edition, and was continued in all the subsequent ones.
[4] 'Ai,' 2nd and 3rd edits.

'They are 'glad at the 'sight of him.

' Chr. *Welcome, welcome, my good* Evangelist, ' *the sight of thy countenance brings to my remem-* ' *brance, thy ancient kindness, and unwearied labor-* ' *ing for my eternal good.*

' Faith. *And, a thousand times welcome, said good* ' Faithful; *Thy company, O sweet* Evangelist, *how* ' *desirable is it to us, poor Pilgrims!*

' *Evan.* Then, said *Evangelist,* How hath it fared ' with you, my friends, since the time of our last ' parting? *what* have you met with, and *how* have ' you behaved your selves?

' Chr. *Then* Christian, *and* Faithful *told him of* ' *all things that had happened to them in the way; and* ' how, *and with* what *difficulty they had arrived to* ' *that place.*

'His exhorta- 'tion to them.

' *Evang.* Right glad am I, said *Evangelist;* not ' that you '[1]have' met with trials, but that you have ' been victors, and for that you have (notwithstand- ' ing many weaknesses,) continued in the way to ' this very day.

' I say, right glad am I of this thing, and that for ' mine own sake and yours; I have sowed, and you 'John 4. 36. ' have reaped, and the day is coming, when both 'Gal. 6. 9. '1 Cor. 9. 24, ' he that sowed, and they that reaped shall rejoyce '25, 26, 27. ' together; that is, if you hold out: for, in due 'Rev. 3. 11. ' time ye shall reap, if you faint not. The Crown ' is before you, and it is an incorruptible one; so ' run that you may obtain it. Some there be that ' set out for this Crown, and after they have gone ' far for it, another comes in, and takes it from ' them? hold fast therefore that you have, let no ' man take your Crown; you are not yet out of the ' gun-shot of the Devil: you have not resisted unto ' blood, striving against sin: let the Kingdom be ' always before you, and believe stedfastly concern- ' ing things that are invisible. Let nothing that is

[1] 8th and subs. edits.

'on this side the other world get within you; and 'above all, look well to your own hearts, and to 'the lusts thereof; for they are deceitful above all 'things, and desperately wicked: set your faces 'like a flint, you have all power [6]on Heaven and 'Earth on your side.

'Chr. *Then* **Christian thanked him for his exhorta-* '**They do thank him for his exhortation.*
'*tion, but told him withal, that they would have him* 'speak *farther to them for their help, the rest of the* 'way; *and the rather, for that they well knew that he* 'was a *Prophet, and could tell them of things that* 'might *happen unto them; and also how they might* 'resist *and overcome them. To which request* Faith-'ful *also consented. So* Evangelist *began as fol-*'loweth.

'*Evan.* *My Sons, you have heard in the words '**He predicteth what troubles they shall meet with in* Vanity-Fair, *and encourageth them to stedfastness.*
'of the truth of the Gospel, that you must through 'many tribulations enter into the Kingdom of 'Heaven. And again, that in every City, bonds 'and afflictions abide in you; and therefore you 'cannot expect that you should go long on your 'Pilgrimage without them, in some sort or other. 'You have found something of the truth of these 'testimonies upon you already, and more will im-'mediately follow: for now, as you see, you are 'almost out of this Wilderness, and therefore you 'will soon come into a Town that you will by and 'by see before you: and in that Town you will be 'hardly beset with enemies, who will strain hard 'but they will kill you: and be you sure that one 'or both of you must seal the testimony which 'you hold, with blood: but be you faithful unto 'death, and the King will give you a Crown of 'life. *He that shall die there, although his '**He whose lot it will be there to suffer, will have the better of his brother.*
'death will be unnatural, and his pain perhaps 'great, he will yet have the better of his fellow; 'not only because he will be arrived at the Cœles-

[6] 'in Heaven,' 3rd and sub.

'tial City soonest, but because he will escape many 'miseries that the other will meet with in the rest 'of his Journey. But when you are come to the 'Town, and shall find fulfilled what I have here 'related, then remember your friend, and quit 'your selves like men; and commit the keeping 'of your souls to your God [7]'in well-doing,' as 'unto a faithful Creator.'

Then I saw in my Dream, that when they were got out of the Wilderness, they presently saw a Town before them, and the name of that Town is *Vanity;* and at the Town there is a *Fair* kept, called *Vanity-Fair:* It is kept all the Year long, it beareth the name of *Vanity-Fair*, because the Town where tis kept, *is lighter then* Vanity; and also, because all that is there sold, or that cometh thither, is *Vanity*. As is the saying of the wise, *All that cometh is Vanity.*

Isa. 40. 17. Eccl. 1. chap. 2. 11. 17.

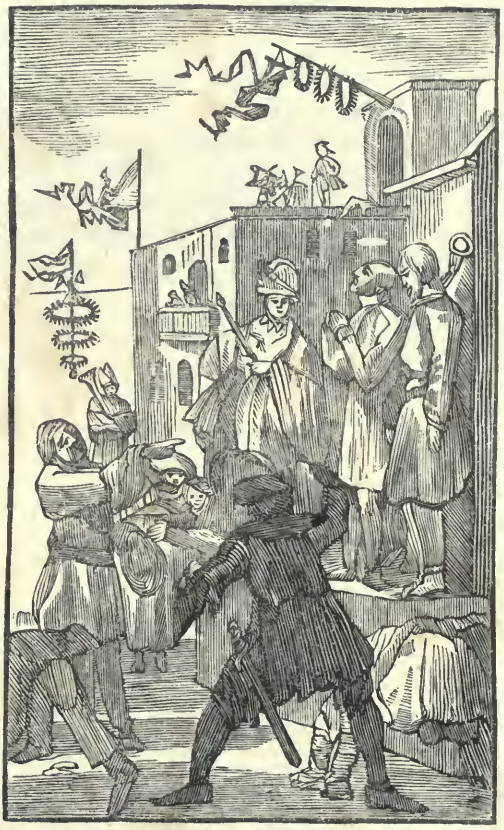
This Fair is no new erected business, but a thing of Ancient standing; I will shew you the original of it.

The Antiquity of this Fair.

Almost five thousand years agone, there were Pilgrims walking to the Cœlestial City, as these two honest persons are; and *Beelzebub, Apollyon*, and *Legion*, with their Companions, perceiving by the path that the Pilgrims made, that their way to the City lay through *this Town* of *Vanity*, they contrived here to set up a Fair; a Fair wherein should be sold of *all sorts of Vanity*, and that it should last all the year long. Therefore at *this Fair* are all such Merchandize sold, As Houses, Lands, Trades, Places, Honours, Preferments, Titles, Countreys, Kingdoms, Lusts, Pleasures and Delights of all sorts, as Whores, Bauds, Wives, Husbands, Children, Masters, Servants, Lives, Blood, Bodies, Souls, Silver, Gold, Pearls, precious Stones, and what not.

The Merchandize of this Fair.

[7] Added in the 8th and sub. edits.



Behold Vanity-Fair! the Pilgrims there
Are chain'd and stand beside:
Even so it was our Lord pass'd here,
And on Mount *Calvary* dy'd.

Copied from the third edition of the second part.

And moreover, at this Fair there is at all times to be seen Juglings, Cheats, Games, Plays, Fools, Apes, Knaves, and Rogues, and that of [8]all sorts.

Here are to be seen [9]'too,' and that for nothing, Thefts, Murders, Adultries, False-swearers, and that of a blood-red colour.

And as in other fairs of less moment, there are [1]the several Rows and Streets, under their proper names, where such and such Wares are vended: So here likewise, you have the proper Places, Rows, Streets, (*viz.* Countreys and Kingdoms,) where the Wares of this Fair are soonest to be found: Here is the *Brittain* Row, the *French* Row, the *Italian* Row, the *Spanish* Row, the *German* Row, where several sorts of Vanities are to be sold. But as in other *fairs*, some one Commodity is as the chief of all the *fair*, so the Ware of *Rome* and her Merchandize is greatly promoted in *this fair:* Only our *English* Nation, with some others, have taken a dislike thereat.

The Streets of this fair.

Now, as I said, the way to the Cœlestial City lyes just [2]thorow *this Town*, where this lusty Fair is kept; and he that will go to the City, and yet not go [2]thorow this Town, *must* needs *go out of the World.* The Prince of Princes himself, when here, went through *this Town* to his own Countrey, and that upon a *Fair-day too:* Yea, and as I think, it was *Beelzebub* the chief Lord of this *Fair*, that invited him to buy of his Vanities; yea, would have made him Lord of the *Fair*, would he but have done him Reverence as he went [2]thorow the *Town*. Yea, because he was such a person of Honour, *Beelzebub* had him from *Street* to *Street*, and shewed him all the Kingdoms of the World in a little time, that he

1 Cor. 5. 10.

Christ went through this fair.

[3] Mat. 4. 8. Luke 4, 5, 6, 7.

[8] Altered to 'every kind,' 2nd and sub. edits.

[9] 2nd and sub. edits.

[1] 1st to 7th, but omitted in 8th and sub. edits.

[2] 'through,' 2nd and sub. edits.

[3] 'Matth. 7. 8,' 2nd to 7th, and in 10th; 'Matth. 4. 1,' 9th, 1683; correct in 8th and 9th, 1684.

might, if [4] possible, allure that Blessed One, to *cheapen* and *buy* some of his *Vanities*. But he had no mind to the Merchandize, and therefore left the *Town*, without laying out so much as one Farthing upon these *Vanities*. This *Fair* therefore is an Ancient thing, of long standing, and a very great *Fair*. *Christ bought nothing in this fair*

Now these Pilgrims, as I said, must needs go thorow this *fair*: Well, so they did; but behold, even as they entred into the *fair*, all the people in the *fair* were moved, and the Town it self as it were in a Hubbub about them; and that for several reasons: For, *The Pilgrims enter the fair.* *The fair in a hubbub about them.*

First, The Pilgrims were cloathed with such kind of Raiment as was diverse from the Raiment of any that Traded in that *fair*. The people therefore of the *fair* made a great gazing upon them: Some said they were Fools, some they were Bedlams, and some they are Outlandish-men. *The first cause of the hubbub.* [5] 1 Cor. 2. 7, 8.

Secondly, And as they wondred at their Apparel, so they did likewise at their Speech, for few could understand what they said; they naturally spoke the Language of *Canaan*, but they that kept the *fair*, were the men of this World: So that from one end of the *fair* to the other, they seemed *Barbarians* each to the other. *2nd Cause of the hubbub.*

Thirdly, But that which did not a little amuse the Merchandizers, was, that these Pilgrims set very light by all their Wares, they cared not, so much as to look upon them: and if they called upon them to buy, they would put their fingers in their ears, and cry, *Turn away mine eyes from be-* *'[6] Third cause of the hubbub.'* Ps. 119. 37. Phil. 3. 19, 20.

[4] '(if possible),' 2nd and sub. edits.

[5] All the edits. agree in this reference. The Tract Society's edition has it, 1 Cor. 4. 9, and have added to it Job. 12. 4; the reference to 1 Cor. 2. 7, 8, is placed to the next paragraph. By what authority are these alterations made?

[6] Added to the 2nd and sub. edits.

holding vanity; and look upwards, signifying that their Trade and Traffic was in Heaven.

'Fourth cause of the hubbub.'[7] One chanced mockingly, beholding the carriages of the men, to say unto them, What will ye buy? Prov. 23. 23. But they, looking gravely upon him, said, *We buy the Truth.* At that, there was an occasion taken to *They are mocked.* despise the men the more; some mocking, some taunting, some speaking reproachfully, and some *The fair in a hubbub.* calling upon others to smite them. At last things came to an hubbub and great stir in the *fair*, in so much that all order was confounded. Now was word presently brought to the *great one* of the *fair*, who quickly came down, and deputed some of his most trusty friends to take these men into examination, about whom the *fair* was almost overturned. *They are examined.* So the men were brought to examination; and they that sat upon them, asked them whence they came, [8]whether they went, and what they did there in *They tell who they are, and whence they came.* such an unusual Garb? The men told them, that 'Heb. 11. 13, 14, 15, 16.'[7] they were Pilgrims and Strangers in the World, and that they were going to their own Countrey, which was the Heavenly *Jerusalem;* and that they had given [9]none occasion to the men of the Town, nor yet to the Merchandizers, thus to abuse them, and to let them in their Journey. Except it was, for that, when one asked them what they would buy, they said they would *buy the Truth.* But they that were appointed to examine them, did not be- *They are not beleived.*[1] lieve them to be any other than Bedlams and Mad, or else such as came to put all things into a confusion in the *fair.* Therefore they took them and beat them, and besmeared them with dirt, and then *They are put in the Cage.* put them into the Cage, that they might be made a Spectacle to all the men of the *fair.* There therefore they lay for some time, and were made the

[7] 2nd and sub. edits.
[8] 'whither,' 2nd and sub.
[9] 'no,' 2nd and sub.
[1] 'They are taken for madmen,' in the folio edit. 1737.

objects of any mans sport, or malice, or revenge. The great one of the *fair* laughing still at all that befel them. But the men being patient, and not rendering railing for railing, but contrarywise blessing, and giving good words for bad, and kindness for injuries done: Some men in the *fair* that were more observing, and less prejudiced then the rest, began to check and blame the baser sort for their continual abuses done by them to the men: They therefore in angry manner let fly at them again, counting them as bad as the men in the Cage, and telling them that they seemed confederates, and should be made partakers of their misfortunes. The other replied, That for ought they could see, the men were quiet, and sober, and intended no body any harm; and that there were many that Traded in their *fair*, that were more worthy to be put into the Cage, yea, and Pillory too, then were the men that they had abused. Thus, after divers words had passed on both sides, (the men [2]themselves behaving themselves all the while very wisely and soberly before them,) they fell to some Blows, [3]'among themselves,' and did harm one to another. Then were these two poor men brought before their Examiners again, and there charged as being guilty of the late Hubbub that had been in the *fair*. So they beat them pitifully, and hanged Irons upon them, and led them in Chaines up and down the *fair*, for an example [4]and a terror to others, lest any [5]should further speak in their behalf, or joyn themselves unto them. But *Christian* and *Faithful* behaved themselves yet more wisely, and received the ignominy and shame that was cast upon them, with so much meekness and patience, that it won to their side (though but few

Their behaviour in the Cage.

The men of the fair do fall out among themselves about these two men

They are made the Authors of this disturbance.

They are led up and down the fair in Chaines for a terror to others.

Some of the men of the fair won to them.

[2] 'behaving themselves,' 2nd and sub. edits.
[3] Added to 3rd and sub. edits.
[4] 'and terror,' 3rd and sub.
[5] 'should speak,' 3rd and sub.

in comparison of the rest) several of the men in the *fair*. This put the other party yet into a greater rage, insomuch that they concluded the death of these two men. Wherefore they threatned that the Cage nor Irons should serve their turn, but that they should die, for the abuse they had done, and for deluding the men of the *fair*.

Their adversaries resolve to kill them.

Then were they remanded to the Cage again until further order should be taken with them. So they put them in, and made their feet fast in the Stocks.

[6]'Here [7]also they called again to mind what they 'had heard from their faithful friend *Evangelist*, 'and [8]was the more confirmed in their way and 'sufferings, by what he told them would happen to 'them. They also now comforted each other, that 'whose lot it was to suffer, [9]that even he should 'have the best on't; therefore each man secretly 'wished that he might have that preferment; but 'committing themselves to the All-wise dispose of 'him that ruleth all things, with much content 'they abode in the condition in which they were, 'until they should be otherwise disposed of.'

They are again put into the Cage and after brought to Tryal.

Then a convenient time being appointed, they brought them forth to their Tryal in order to their Condemnation. When the time was come, they were brought before their Enemies and arraigned; The Judge's name was Lord *Hategood*. Their indictment was one and the same in substance, though somewhat varying in form; the Contents whereof was this.

Their Indictment.

That they were enemies to, and disturbers of their Trade; that they had made Commotions and Divisions in the Town, and had won a party to their own most

[6] The lines marked 'first inserted in the 2nd edition, and continued subsequently.

[7] 'Here therefore,' 9th 1684, and sub.

[8] 'were,' 8th and sub. edits.

[9] 'that,' omitted in 3rd and subs.



Now *Faithful* play the man, speak for thy God:
Fear not the wickeds malice nor their rod:
Speak boldly man, the truth is on thy side;
Die for it, and to life in triumph ride.

Copied from the 13th edition, 1692.

dangerous opinions, in contempt of the Law of their Prince.

Faithfuls *answer for himself.*

Then *Faithful* began to answer, That he had only set himself against that which had set it self against him that is higher then the highest. And said he, As for disturbance, I make none, being my self a man of Peace; the [9]Party that were won to us, were won by beholding our Truth and Innocence, and they are only turned from the worse to the better. And as to the King you talk of, since he is *Beelzebub*, the Enemy of our Lord, I defie him and all his Angels.

Then Proclamation was made, that they that had ought to say for their Lord the King against the Prisoner at the Bar, should forthwith appear and give in their evidence. So there came in three Witnesses, to wit, *Envy*, *Superstition*, and *Pick-thank*. They [1]was then asked, If they knew the Prisoner at the Bar? and what they had to say for their Lord the King against him?

'[2] Envy *begins.*'

Then stood forth *Envy*, and said to this effect; My Lord, I have known this man a long time, and will attest upon my Oath before this honourable Bench, That he is——

Judge. Hold, give him his Oath;

So they sware him. Then he said, My Lord, This man, notwithstanding his plausible name, is one of the vilest men in our Countrey; he neither regardeth Prince nor People, Law nor Custom: but doth all that he can to possess all men with certain of his disloyal notions, which he in the general calls Principles of Faith and Holiness. And in particular, I heard him once my self affirm, *That Christianity and the Customs of our Town of* Vanity, *were Diametrically opposite, and could not be reconciled.* By which saying, my Lord, he doth at

[9] 'Parties,' 2nd and sub.
[1] 'They were,' 2nd and sub.
[2] 3rd and sub. except 7th.

once, not only condemn all our laudable doings, but us in the doing of them.

Judg. Then did the Judge say to him, Hast thou any more to say?

Env. My Lord I could say much more, only I would not be tedious to the Court. Yet if need be, when the other Gentlemen have given in their Evidence, rather then any thing shall be wanting that will dispatch him, I will enlarge my Testimony against him. So he was bid stand by. Then they called *Superstition*, and bid him look upon the Prisoner; they also asked, What he could say for their Lord the King against him? Then they sware him, so he began.

Super. My Lord, I have no great acquaintance with this man, nor do I desire to have further knowledge of him; However this I know, that he is a very pestilent fellow, from some discourse that the other day I had with him in this *Town;* for then talking with him, I heard him say, That our Religion was naught, and such by which a man could by no means please God: which sayings of his, my Lord, your Lordship very well knows, what necessarily thence will follow, [4]*two wit*, That we still do worship in vain, are yet in our Sins, and finally shall be damned; and this is that which I have to say. [3] Superstition *follows.*'

Then was *Pickthank* sworn, and bid say what he knew, in behalf of their Lord the King against the Prisoner at the Bar.

Pick. My Lord, and you gentlemen all, This fellow I have known of a long time, and have heard him speak things that ought not to be spoke. For he hath railed on our noble Prince *Beelzebub*, and hath spoke contemptibly of his honourable Friends, whose names are the Lord *Oldman*, the Lord *Car-* Pick-thanks *Testimony.* *Sins are all Lords and Great ones.*

[3] 3rd and sub. except the 7th. [4] 'to,' 2nd and sub. edits.

nal-delight, the Lord *Luxurious*, the Lord *Desire of Vain-glory*, my old Lord *Lechery*, Sir *Having Greedy*, with all the rest of our Nobility; and he hath said moreover, that if all men were of his mind, if possible, there is not one of these noble Men should have any longer a being in this Town. Besides, he hath not been afraid to rail on you, my Lord, who are now appointed to be his Judge, calling you an ungodly Villian, with many other such like vilifying terms, by [5]which he hath bespattered most of the Gentry of our Town. When this *Pickthank* had told his tale, the Judge directed his speech to the Prisoner at the Bar, saying, Thou Runagate, Heretick, and Traitor, hast thou heard what these honest Gentlemen have witnessed against thee?

Faith. *May I speak a few words in my own defence?*

Judg. Sirrah, Sirrah, thou deservest to live no longer, but to be slain immediately upon the place; yet that all men may see our gentleness towards thee, let us [6]see what thou '[7]vile Runagate' hast to say.

Faithfuls *defence of himself.*

Faith. 1. I say then in answer to what Mr. *Envy* hath spoken, I never said ought but this, *That what Rule, or Laws, or Custom, or People, were flat against the Word of God, are diametrically opposite to Christianity.* If I have said amiss in this, convince me of my errour, and I am ready here before you to make my recantation.

2. As to the second, to wit, Mr. *Superstition*, and his charge against me, I said only this, *That in the worship of God there is required a divine Faith; but there can be no divine Faith without a divine Revelation of the will of God: therefore whatever is thrust into the worship of God, that is not agreeable to* [8]*a*

[5] 'with which,' 2nd and sub.
[6] 'us hear,' 3rd and sub., except 7th.
[7] Added to 8th and sub. edits.
[8] 'to divine,' 2nd and sub. edits.

divine Revelation, cannot be done but by an humane Faith; which Faith will not [9]*profit to Eternal life.*

3. As to what Mr. *Pickthank* hath said, I say, (avoiding terms, as that I am said to rail, and the like) That the Prince of this Town, with all the Rablement his Attendants, by this Gentleman named, are more fit [1]for a being in Hell, than in this Town and Countrey; *and so the Lord have mercy upon me.*

The Judge his speech to the Jury.

Then the Judge called to the Jury (who all this while stood by, to hear and observe) Gentlemen of the Jury, you see this man about whom so great an uproar hath been made in this Town: you have also heard what these worthy Gentlemen have witnessed against him; also you have heard his reply and confession: It lieth now in your brests to hang him, or save his life, But yet I think meet to instruct you into our Law.

Exod. 1.

There was an Act made in the days of *Pharaoh* the Great, Servant to our Prince, That lest those of a contrary Religion should multiply and grow too strong for him, their Males should be thrown into the River.

Dan. 3.

There was also an Act made in the days of *Nebuchadnezzar* the Great, another of his Servants, that whoever would not fall down and worship his golden Image, should be thrown into a fiery Furnace.

Dan. 6.

There was also an Act made in the days of *Darius*, That who so, for some time, called upon any God but [2]his, should be cast into the Lions Den. Now the substance of these Laws this Rebel has broken, not only in thought (which is not to be born) but also in word and deed; which must therefore needs be intolerable.

For that of *Pharaoh*, his Law was made upon a supposition, to prevent mischief, no Crime being yet

[9] 'not be profit,' 2nd to 7th edits.; 'not be profitable,' 8th and sub.

[1] 'for being,' 10th edit.

[2] 'but him,' 2nd and sub.

apparent; but here is a Crime apparent. For the second and third, you see he disputeth against our Religion; and for the Treason he hath confessed, he deserveth to die the death.

'[3]* *The Jury and their Names.*' Then went the Jury out, whose names were, Mr. *Blind-man*, Mr. *No-good*, Mr. *Malice*, Mr. *Love-lust*, Mr. *Live-loose*, Mr. *Heady*, Mr. *High-mind*, Mr. *Enmity*, Mr. *Lyar*, Mr. *Cruelty*, Mr. *Hate-light*, and Mr. *Implacable*, who every one gave in his private Verdict against him among themselves, and afterwards unanimously concluded to bring him in guilty before the Judge. And first '[3]among themselves,' Mr. *Blindman* the foreman, said, *I see clearly that this man is an Heretick.* Then said Mr. *No-good, Away with such a fellow from the Earth. Ay*, said Mr. *Malice, for I hate the very looks of him.* Then said Mr. *Love-lust, I could never endure him. Nor I*, said Mr. *Live-loose, for he would alwayes be condemning my way. Hang him, hang him*, said Mr. *Heady. A sorry Scrub*, said Mr. *High-mind. My heart riseth against him*, said Mr. *Enmity. He is a Rogue*, said Mr. *Lyar. Hanging is too good for him*, said Mr. *Cruelty. Lets dispatch him out of the way*, said Mr. *Hate-light.* Then said Mr. *Implacable, Might I have all the World given me, I could not be reconciled to him, therefore let us forthwith bring him in guilty of death;* And so they did, therefore he was presently Condemned, To be had from the place where he was, to the place from whence he came, and there to be put to the most cruel death that could be invented.

'[3] *Every ones private Verdict.*'

'[3]* *They conclude to bring him in guilty of death.*'

They therefore brought him out, to do with him according to their Law; and first they Scourged him, then they Buffetted him, then they Lanced his flesh with Knives; after that, they Stoned him with Stones, then prickt him with their Swords, and last

The Cruel death of Faithful.

[3] 3rd and sub., except the 7th edit.



Brave *Faithful*, Bravely done in word and deed;
Judge, Witnesses, and Jury, have insteed
Of overcoming thee, but shewn their rage,
When they are dead, thou'lt live, from age to age.

Copied from the 7th edition, 1681.

of all they burned him to Ashes at the Stake. Thus came *Faithful* to his end. * Now, I saw that there stood behind the multitude, a Chariot and a couple of Horses, waiting for *Faithful*, who (so soon as his adversaries had dispatched him) was taken up into it, and straightway was carried up through the Clouds, with sound of Trumpet, the nearest way to the Cœlestial Gate. But as for *Christian*, he had some respit, and was remanded back to prison, so he there remained for a space: But he that over-rules all things, having the power of their rage in his own hand, so wrought it about, that *Christian* for that time escaped them, and went his way.

'[4]* *A Chariot and Horses wait to take away* Faithful.'

Christian[5] *is still alive.*

'[4]And as he went he Sang,' 'saying,'

'[4]* *The Song that* Christian *made of* Faithful *aft r his death.*'

Well, Faithful, *thou hast faithfully profest*
Unto thy Lord: with [6]*him thou shalt be blest;*
When Faithless *ones, with all their vain delights,*
Are crying out under their hellish plights
Sing, Faithful, *sing; and let thy name survive,*
For though they kill'd thee, thou art yet alive.

Christian *has another Companion.*

Now I saw in my Dream, that *Christian* went not forth alone, for there was one whose name was *Hopeful*, (being made so by the beholding of *Christian* and *Faithful* in their words and behaviour, in their sufferings at the *fair*) who joyned himself unto him, and entering into a brotherly covenant, told him that he would be his Companion. Thus one died to [7]make Testimony to the Truth, and another rises out of his Ashes to be a Companion with

[4] 3rd and sub. edits., except the 7th; 'saying,' added to 8th and sub.

[5] 'still a Prisoner,' 8th and sub. edits.

[6] 'with whom,' 2nd and sub. edit.

[7] 'to bear,' 8th and sub.

Christian '[9]in his Pilgrimage.' This *Hopeful* also told *Christian*, that there were many more of the men in the *fair* that would take their time and follow after. *There*[1] *is more of the men of the fair will follow.*

So I saw that quickly after they were got out of the *fair*, they overtook one that was going before them, whose name was *By-ends;* so they said to him, What Countrey-man, Sir? and how far go you this way? He told them, That he came from the Town of *Fair-speech*, and he was going to the Cœlestial City, (but told them not his name.) *They overtake* By-ends.

From Fair-speech, *said* Christian; *is there any that be*[3] *good live there?* '[2]*Prov. 26. 25.'

By-ends. Yes, said *By-ends*, I hope.

Chr. *Pray Sir, what may I call you?* 'said *Christian.*'[4]

By-ends. I am a Stranger to you, and you to me; if you be going this way, I shall be glad of your Company; if not, I must be content. By-ends *loth to tell his name.*

Chr. *This Town of* Fair-speech, '[4]*said* Christian,' *I have heard of*[5] *it, and, as I remember, they say its a Wealthy place.*

By ends. Yes, I will assure you that it is, and I have very many Rich Kindred there.

Chr. *Pray, who are your Kindred there, if a man may be so bold?*

By-ends. '[6]Almost the whole Town; and in par-
'ticular, my Lord *Turn-about*, my Lord *Time-*
'*server*, my Lord *Fair-speech*, (from whose Ancestors
'that Town first took its name:) Also Mr. *Smooth-*
'*man*, Mr. *Facing-bothways*, Mr. *Any-thing*, and
'the Parson of our Parish, Mr. *Two-tongues*, was
'my Mothers own Brother by Father's side: And,'

[9] 8th and sub.
[1] 'There are,' 8th and sub.
[2] 2nd edit. and sub.
[3] 'any that be good that lives there,' 2nd; 'any good that lives there,' 3rd and sub.
[4] 3rd and sub. edits., except the 7th.
[5] 'heard of,' 8th and sub. edits.
[6] The lines marked 'were first inserted in the 2nd, and continued in sub. edits.

To tell you '[7]the' Truth, I am '[8]become' a Gentleman of good Quality; yet my Great Grandfather was but a Water-man, looking one way, and Rowing another; and I got most of my Estate by the same occupation.

Chr. *Are you a Married man?*

The wife and Kindred of By-ends.

By-ends. Yes, and my Wife is a very Virtuous woman, the Daughter of a Virtuous woman: She was my Lady *Fainings* Daughter, therefore she came of a very Honourable Family, and is arrived to such a pitch of Breeding, that she knows how to carry it to all, even to Prince and Peasant. 'Tis true, we somewhat differ in Religion from those of the stricter sort, yet but in two small points: First, we never strive against Wind and Tide. Secondly, We are alwayes most zealous when Religion goes in his Silver Slippers; we love much to walk with him in the Street, if the Sun shines, and the people applaud [9]it.

Where By-ends differs from others in Religion.

Then *Christian* stept a little [1]a to side to his Fellow *Hopeful*, saying, It runs in my mind that this is one *By-ends* of *Fair-speech*, and if it be he, we have as very a Knave in our Company, as dwelleth in all these parts. Then said *Hopeful, Ask him; methinks he should not be ashamed of his name.* So *Christian* came up with him again, and said, Sir, you talk as if you knew something more then all the World doth, and if I take not my mark amiss, I deem I have half a guess of you: Is not your name Mr. *By-ends* of *Fair-speech?*

By-ends. That[2] is not my name, but indeed it is a Nick-name that is given me by some that cannot abide me, and I must be content to bear it as a reproach, as other good men have born theirs before me.

[7] 3rd and sub.
[8] 3rd and sub. edits., except the 7th.
[9] 'applaud him,' 8th and sub.
[1] 'a little aside,' 8th and sub.
[2] 'This,' 2nd and sub.

Chr. *But did you never give an occasion to men to call you by this name?*

By-ends. Never, never! the worst that ever I did to give them an occasion to give me this name, was, That I had alwayes the luck to jump in my Judgement with the present way of the times, whatever it was, and my chance was to get thereby; but if things are thus cast upon me, let me count them a blessing, but let not the malicious load me therefore with reproach. *How By-ends got his name.*

Chr. *I thought indeed, that you* [3]*was the man that I* [4]*had heard of, and to tell you what I think, I fear this name belongs to you more properly than you are willing we should think it doth.*

By-ends. Well, if you will thus imagine, I cannot help it. You shall find me a fair Company-keeper, if you will still admit me your associate. *He desires to keep Company with Christian.*

Chr. *If you will go with us, you must go against Wind and Tide, the which, I perceive, is against your opinion: You must also own Religion in his Rags, as well as when in his Silver Slippers, and stand by him too, when bound in Irons, as well as when he walketh the Streets with applause.*

By-ends. You must not impose, nor Lord it over my Faith; leave me to my liberty, and let me go with you.

Chr. *Not a step further, unless you will do in what I propound, as we.*

Then said *By-ends*, I shall never desert my old Principles, since they are harmless and profitable. If I may not go with you, I must do as I did before you overtook me, even go by my self, untill some overtake me that will be glad of my Company.

'[5]Now I saw in my dream, that *Christian* and '*Hopeful*, forsook him, and keept their distance be- *'By-ends and Christian parts'*

[3] 'you were,' 2nd and sub.
[4] 'I heard,' 2nd and sub.
[5] All this interview between By-ends and his company was first inserted in the 3rd edit.

'fore him, but one of them looking back, saw three 'men following Mr. *By-ends*, and behold, as they 'came up with him, he made them a very low 'curtesie, and they also gave him a *Complement*. 'The mens names were Mr. *Hold-the-World*, Mr. '*Money-love*, and Mr. *Save-all*; men that Mr. *By-ends*, had formerly bin acquainted with; for in 'their minority they were schoolfellow, and were 'taught by one Mr. *Gripe-man*, a School-master in '*Love-gain*, which is a market town in the County 'of *Coveting* in the North. This Schoolmaster 'taught them the art of getting, either by violence, 'cousenage flattery, lying or by putting on a guise 'of Religion, and these four Gentlemen had attained 'much of the art of their Master, so that they could 'each of them have kept such a School themselves.

'He has new Companions.[3]'

'Well when they had, as I said, thus saluted each 'other, Mr. *Mony-love* said to Mr. *By-ends*, who are 'they upon the Road before us? For *Christian* and '*Hopeful* were yet within view.

'[3] By-ends Character of the Pilgrims.'

'*By-ends*. They are a couple of far countrey-men, 'that after *their mode*, are going on Pilgrimage.

'*Mony-love*. Alas, why did they not stay that 'we might have had their good company, for *they*, 'and *we*, and *you* Sir, I hope, are all going on 'a' '[4]Pilgrimage.

'*By-ends*. We are so indeed, but the men before 'us, are so ridgid, and love so much their own notions, and do also so lightly esteem the Opinions 'of [5]others; that let a man be never so godly, yet 'if he jumps not with them in all things, they 'thrust him quite out of their company.

'Mr. *Save-all*, that's bad; But we read of some, '*that are righteous over-much*, and such mens ridgid-

[3] Added after the 3rd edit.

[4] 'on a Pilgrimage,' 9th, 1684, and sub.

[5] 'of other,' 7th edit.

'ness prevails with them to judge and condemn all 'but themselves. But I pray *what* and *how* many, 'were the things wherein you differed.

'*By-ends*, why they after their headstrong man- 'ner, conclude that it is duty to rush on their Journy '*all* weathers, and I am for waiting for *Wind* and '*Tide*. They are for hazzarding all for God, at a 'clap, and I am for taking *all* advantages to secure 'my life and estate. They are for holding *their* '*notions*, though all other men [6]are against them, 'but I am for Religion in what, and so far as the 'times, and my safety will bear it. They are for 'Religion, when in rags, and contempt, but I am 'for him when he walks in his golden slipers in the 'Sun-shine, and with applause.

'Mr. *Hold-the-World*, Ai, and hold you there 'still, good Mr. *By-ends*, for, for my part, I can 'count him but a fool, that leaving[7] the liberty to 'keep what he has; shall be so unwise[8] as to lose 'it. Let us be wise *as Serpants*, 'tis best to make 'hay when the Sun shines; you see how the Bee 'lieth still all winter and bestirs her [9]then only 'when she can have profit with pleasure. God 'sends sometimes Rain, and sometimes Sun-shine; 'if they be such fools to go through the first, yet 'let us be content to take fair weather along with 'us. For my part I like that Religion best, that 'will stand with the security of Gods good blessings 'unto us; for who can imagin that is ruled by his 'reason, since God has bestowed upon us the good 'things of this life, but that he would have us keep 'them for his sake. *Abraham* and *Solomon* grew 'rich in Religion. And *Job* saies, that a good man '*shall lay up gold as dust*. '[1]But' He must not

[6] 'be against,' 10th edit.

[7] 'having the liberty,' after the 3rd edit.

[8] 'unwise to lose,' 9th, 1684, and 10th edits.

[9] 'bestirs her only,' after the 3rd edit.

[1] 'But,' added after the 3rd edit.

'be such as the men before us, if they be as you 'have discribed them.

'Mr. *Save-all.* I think that we are all agreed in 'this matter, and therefore there needs no more 'words about it.

'Mr. *Mony-love.* No, there needs no more words 'about this matter indeed, for he that believes 'neither Scripture nor reason (and you see we have 'both on our side) neither knows his own liberty, 'nor seeks his own safety.

'Mr. *By-ends.* My Brethren, we are, as you see, 'going all on Pilgrimage, and for our better diver-'sion from things that are bad, give me leave to 'propound unto you this question.

'*Suppose a man; a Minister, or a Tradesman, &c.* '*should have an advantage lie before him to get the* '*good blessings of this life. Yet so, as that he can by* '*no means come by them, except in appearance, at least* '*he becomes extraordinary Zealous in some points of* '*Religion, that he medled not with before, may he not* '*use this means to attain his end, and yet be a right* '*honest man?*

'Mr. *Mony-love.* I see the bottom of your ques-'tion, and with these Gentlemens good leave, I 'will endeavour to shape you an answer. And first 'to speak to your question, as it concerns a *Minis-'ter* himself. *Suppose a Minister, a worthy man,* '*possessed but of a very small benefice, and has in his* '*eye a greater, more fat, and plump by far; he has* '*also now an opportunity of getting of it; yet so as by* '*being more studious, by preaching more frequently,* '*and zealously, and because the temper of the people* '*requires it, by altering of some of his principles, for* '*my part I see no reason but a man may do this (pro-*'*vided he has a call.) Ai, and more a great deal* '*besides, and yet be an honest man.* For why,

'1. His desire of a greater benefice is lawful (this 'cannot be contradicted) since 'tis set before him

'by providence; so then, he may get it if he can, 'making no question for conscience sake.

'2. Besides, his desire after that benefice, makes 'him more studious, a more zealous preacher, &c. 'and so makes him a better man. Yea makes him 'better improve his parts, which is according to the 'mind of God.

'3. Now as for his complying with the temper 'of his people, by [2]dissenting, to serve them, some 'of his principles, this argueth, 1. That he is of a '[3]self denying temper. 2. Of a sweet and winning 'deportment. 3. And so more fit for the Ministe- 'rial function.

'4. I conclude then, that a Minister that changes 'a *small* for a *great*, should not for so doing, be 'judged as covetous, but rather, since he is im- 'proved in his parts and industry thereby, be 'counted as one that pursues his call, and the 'opportunity put into his hand to do good.

'And now to the second part of the question 'which concerns the *Tradesman* you mentioned: 'suppose such an one to have but a poor imploy in 'the world, but by becoming Religious, he may 'mend his market, perhaps get a rich wife, or more, 'and far better customers to his shop. For my 'part I see no reason but that this may be lawfully 'done. For why,

'1. To become religious is a vertue, by what 'means soever a man becomes so.

'2. Nor is it unlawful to get a rich wife, or more 'custome to my shop.

'3. Besides the man that gets these by becoming 'religious, gets that which is good, of them that are

[2] The 9th edit., 1683, has 'disserting,' evidently a typographical error, the word being rightly spelt 'dissenting' in the 9th, 1684, and 10th edit. The hypocrite may 'dissent,' but does not 'desert' his old principles: 'dissemble' might have been better.

[3] 'a safe denying,' 3rd edit., but it must have been a typ. error.

'good, by becoming good himself; so then here is 'a good wife, and good customers, and good gaine, 'and all these by becoming religious, which is 'good. Therefore to become religious to get all 'these is a good and profitable design.

'This answer, thus made by this Mr. *Mony-love* 'to Mr. *By-ends*, question, was highly applauded 'by them all; wherefore they concluded upon the 'whole, that it was most wholsome and advan- 'tagious. And because, as they thought, no man 'was able to contradict it, and because *Christian* 'and *Hopeful* was yet within call; they [4]joyfully 'agreed to assault them with the question as soon 'as they overtook them, and the rather because they 'had opposed Mr. *By-ends* before. So they called 'after them, and they stopt, and stood still till they 'came up to them, but they concluded as they went, 'that not 'Mr.[5]' *By-ends*, but old Mr. *Hold-the-* '*world* should propound the question to them, be- 'cause, as they supposed, their answer to him would 'be without the remainder of that heat that was 'kindled betwixt Mr. *By-ends* and them, at their 'parting a little before.

'So they came up to each other and after a short 'salutation, Mr. *Hold-the-world* propounded the 'question to *Christian* and his fellow, and bid them 'to answer it if they could.

'*Chr.* Then said *Christian*, even a babe in Reli- 'gion may answer ten thousand such questions. 'For if it be unlawful to follow Christ for loaves, as 'it is, *Joh.* 6. How much more abominable is it to 'make of him and religion a stalking horse to get 'and enjoy the world. Nor do we find any other 'than Heathens, Hypocrites, Devils and Witches 'that are of this opinion.

'1. *Heathens*, for when *Hamor* and *Shechem* had a

[4] 'they joyntly,' after the 3rd edit.

[5] 'Mr.' added after the 3rd edit.

'mind to the Daughter and Cattle of *Jacob*, and 'saw that there was no waies for them to come at 'them, but by becoming circumcised, they say to 'their companions; If every male of [6]us be cir- 'cumcised, as they are circumcised, shall not 'their Cattle, and their substance, and every beast 'of theirs be ours. Their Daughter and their 'Cattle were that which they sought to obtain, and 'their Religion the stalking horse they made use 'of to come at them. Read the whole story, *Gen.* '34. 20, 21, 22, 23.

'2. The Hypocritical Pharisees were also of this 'Religion, long prayers were their pretence, but to 'get widdows houses were their intent, and greater 'damnation was from God their Judgment, *Luke* '20. 46, 47.

'3. *Judas* the Devil was also of this Religion, he 'was religious for the bag, that he might be pos- 'sessed of what was therein, but he was lost, cast 'away, and the very Son of perdition.

'4. *Simon* the [7]witch was of this Religion too, 'for he would have had the Holy Ghost, that he 'might have got money therewith, and his sentence 'from *Peter's* mouth was according, *Acts* 8. 19, 20, '21, 22.

'5. Neither will it out of my mind, but that that 'man that takes up Religion for the world, will 'throw away Religion for the world; for so surely as '*Judas* designed the world in becoming religious: 'so surely did he also sell Religion, and his Master 'for the same. To answer the question therefore 'affirmatively, as I perceive you have done, and to 'accept of as authentick such answer, is both 'Heathenish, Hypocritical and Devilish, and your 'reward will be according to your works. Then

[6] 'of it,' 3rd edit., typ. error.

[7] Altered in modern editions to 'Wizard,' but upon no authority. See Southey's, Arts-Union, and even Tract Society's edits.

'they stood stareing one upon another, but had not 'wherewith to answer *Christian*. *Hopeful* also ap- 'proved of the soundness of *Christians* answer, so 'there was a great silence among them. Mr. *By-* 'ends and his company also staggered, and kept 'behind, that *Christian* and *Hopeful* might outgo 'them. Then said *Christian* to his fellow, if these 'men cannot stand before the sentence of men, 'what will they do with the sentence of God? & if 'they are mute when dealt with by vessels of clay, 'what will they do when they shall be rebuked by 'the flames of a devouring fire?'

The ease that Pilgrims have is but little in this life.

Then *Christian* and *Hopeful* out-went [7]him, and went till they came at a delicate Plain, called *Ease*, where they went with much content; but that plain was but *narrow*, so they were quickly got over it. Now at the further side of that plain, was a little Hill called *Lucre*, and in that *Hill* a *Silver-Mine*, which some of them that had formerly gone that way, because of the rarity of it, had turned aside to see; but going too near the brink of the pit, the ground being deceitful under them, broke, and they were slain; some also had been maimed there, and could not to their dying day be their own men again.

Lucre *Hill a dangerous Hill.*

Then I saw in my Dream, that a little off the road, over against the *Silver-Mine*, stood *Demas* (*Gentleman*-like,) to call to Passengers to come and see: Who said to *Christian* and his Fellow; Ho, turn aside hither, and I will shew you a thing

'*Demas at the Hill Lucre.[8]'

'**He calls to* Christian *and* Hopeful *to come to him.[8]'*

Chr. *What thing so deserving, as to turn us out of the way?* [9]*'to see it.'*

De. Here is a Silver-*Mine*, and some digging in

[7] On the addition of the controversy with By-ends' companions, the word 'him' was altered to 'them again,' 3rd and sub. edits.

[8] 3rd and sub. edits.

[9] 'to see it,' added to the 9th, 1684, and sub. edits.

it for Treasure; if you will come, with a little [1]paines you may richly provide for your selves.

Hopef. Then said Hopeful, *Let us go see.* Hopeful *tempted to go but* Christian *holds him back*

Chr. Not I, said *Christian;* I have heard of this place before now, and how many have there been slain; and besides, that Treasure is a snare to those that seek it, for it hindreth them in their Pilgrimage. Then *Christian* called to *Demas*, saying, *Is not the place dangerous? hath it not hindred many in their Pilgrimage?* Hos. 4. 18.[2]

De. Not very dangerous, except to those that are careless: but withal, he *blushed* as he spake.

Chr. Then said *Christian* to *Hopeful*, Let us not stir a step, but still keep on our way.

Hope. *I will warrant you, when* By-ends *comes up, if he hath the same invitation as we, he will turn in thither to see.*

Chr. No doubt thereof, for his principles lead him that way, and a hundred to one but he dies there.

De. Then *Demas* called again, saying, But will you not come over and see?

Chr. Then *Christian* roundly answered, saying, *Demas*, Thou art an Enemy to the right ways of the Lord of this way, and hast been already condemned for thine own turning aside, by one of his Majesties Judges; and why seekest thou to bring us into the like condemnation? Besides, if we at all turn aside, our Lord the King will certainly hear thereof; and will there put us to shame, where we would stand with boldness before him. Christian *roundeth up* Demas. 2 Tim. 4. 10.

Demas cried again, That he also was one of their fraternity; and that if they would tarry a little, he also himself would walk with them.

Chr. Then said *Christian*, What is thy name? is it not [3]it by the which I have called thee?

[1] 'pains,' 2nd and sub. edits.

[2] This reference is put Hos. 4. 16—19, by Tract Society, but may it not be a misprint for 12. 8.?

[3] 'is it not the same,' 2nd and sub. edits.

De. Yes, my name is *Demas*, I am the son of *Abraham*.

2 Kings 5. 20. [4] Mat. 26. 14, 15. chap. 27. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

Chr. I know you, *Gehazi* was your Great-Grand-father, and *Judas* your Father, and you have trod their steps. It is but a devilish prank that thou usest: Thy Father was hanged for a Traitor, and thou deservest no better reward. Assure thy self, that when we come to the King, we will do him word of this thy behaviour. Thus they went their way.

By-ends *goes over to* Demas.

By this time *By-ends* [5]'and his companions' was come again within sight, and [6]he at the first beck went over to *Demas*. Now whether [7]he fell into the Pit by looking over the brink thereof; or whether [8]he went down to dig, or whether he [9]was smothered in the bottom, by the damps that commonly arise, of these things I am not certain: But this I observed, that he [1]never was seen again in the way. [2]' Then sang Christian,'

By-ends *and Silver*-Demas *both agree;*
One calls, the other runs, that he may be,
A sharer in his Lucre: so these two[3]
Take up in this World, and no further go.

' *They see a strange Monument.*'[5]

[4]' Now I saw, that just on the other side of this ' Plain, the Pilgrims came to a place where stood ' an old *Monument*, hard by the High-way-side, at ' the sight of which they were both concerned,

[4] Quoted in the first edit. as v. 10, but corrected in 2nd and sub.

[5] 'and his companions,' was, 3rd to 7th; were, 8th and sub. edits.

[6] 'and they,' 3rd and sub. edits.

[7] 'they fell,' 3rd and sub. edits.

[8] 'they went,' 3rd and sub. edits.

[9] 'they was,' 3rd; 'they were,' sub.

[1] 'they never was,' 3rd; 'never were,' sub. edits.

[2] 2nd and sub. edits.

[3] 'these do,' 3rd and sub.

[4] All this narrative about Lot's Wife marked with inverted commas was first introduced into the 2nd edition.

[5] 3rd and sub.

'because of the strangeness of the form thereof; 'for it seemed to them as if it had been a *Woman* 'transformed into the shape of a Pillar: here there- 'fore they stood looking, and looking upon it, but 'could not for a time tell what they should make 'thereof. At last *Hopeful* espied written above 'upon the head thereof, a Writing in an unusual 'hand; but he being no Scholar, called to *Chris- 'tian* (for he was learned) to see if he could pick 'out the meaning: so he came, and after a little 'laying of Letters together, he found the same to 'be this, *Remember Lot's Wife.* So he read it to 'his fellow; after which, they both concluded, that 'that was the *Pillar of Salt into which *Lot's Wife* 'was turned for her looking [6]' back' with a *covetous* 'heart*, when she was going from *Sodom* [6]' for 'safety.' which sudden and amazing sight, gave 'them occasion of this discourse. *Gen. 19. 26.

'*Chr.* Ah my brother, this is a seasonable sight, 'it came opportunely to us after the invitation 'which *Demas* gave us to come over to view the 'Hill *Lucre:* and had we gone over as he desired 'us, and as thou wast inclining to do (my Brother) 'we had, for ought I know, been made [7]our selves '[8]' like this Woman,' a spectacle for those that shall 'come after to behold.

'*Hope.* I am sorry that I Was so foolish, and am 'made to wonder that I am not now as *Lot's* Wife; 'for wherein was the difference 'twixt her sin and 'mine; she only looked back, and I had a desire to 'go see; let Grace be adored, and let me be 'ashamed, that ever such a thing should be in 'mine heart.

'*Chr.* Let us take notice of what we see here, 'for our help for time to come: *This* woman es-

[6] added to 3rd and sub. edits.
[7] 'ourselves,' omitted in the 10th and sub. edits.
[8] 'like this Woman,' added in the 8th and sub. edits.

'caped one Judgment; for she fell not by the 'destruction of *Sodom*, yet she was destroyed by 'another; as we see, she is turned into a Pillar 'of Salt.

'*Hope.* True, and she may be to us both *Caution*, 'and *Example; Caution* that we should shun her 'sin, or a sign of what judgment will overtake such 'as shall not be prevented by this caution: So '*Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, with the two hun-'dred and fifty men, that perished in their sin, did
• Num. 26. 9, 10. 'also become *a sign, or example to others[9] to be-'ware: but above all, I muse at one thing, to wit, 'how *Demas* and his fellows can stand so confi-'dently yonder to look for that treasure, which this 'Woman, but for looking behind her, after (for we 'read not that she stept one foot out of the way) 'was turned into a pillar of Salt; specially since 'the Judgment which overtook her, did make her 'an example, within sight of where they are: for 'they cannot chuse but see her, did they but lift 'up their eyes.

'*Chr.* It is a thing to be wondered at, and it 'argueth that their heart [1]is grown desperate in 'the case; and I cannot tell who to compare them 'to so fitly, as to them that pick Pockets in the 'presence of the Judge, or that will cut Purses 'under the Gallows.[2] It is said of the men of
*Gen. 13.13. '*Sodom, that they were sinners* exceedingly*, because 'they were sinners *before the Lord;* that is, in his 'eyesight; and notwithstanding the kindnesses 'that he had shewed them, for the land of *Sodom*,
† Ver. 10. 'was now, like the † Garden of *Eden heretofore*. 'This therefore provoked him the more to jealousie,

[9] 'to others,' omitted in 8th and sub. edits.

[1] 'their hearts are,' 8th and sub.

[2] In these times the purse was carried hanging to a girdle round the waist, a cut-purse is synonymous to a modern pickpocket; great dexterity was requisite to cut and carry away the purse without the knowledge of its owner.

'and made their plague as hot as the fire of the 'Lord out of Heaven could make it. And it is 'most rationally to be concluded, that such, even 'such as these are, that shall sin in the sight, yea, 'and that too in despite of such examples that are 'set continually before them, to caution them to 'the contrary, must be partakers of severest Judg-'ments.

'*Hope.* Doubtless thou hast said the truth, but 'what a mercy is it, that neither thou, but espe-'cially I, am not made my self this example: this 'ministreth occasion to us to thank God, to fear 'before him, and always to remember *Lot's* Wife.'

I saw then, that they went on their way to a plea-sant River, which *David the King* called *the River of God;* but *John, the River of the water of life:* Now their way lay just upon the bank of the River: here therefore *Christian* and his Companion walked with great delight; They drank also of the water of the River, which was pleasant and enlivening to their weary Spirits: besides, on the banks of this River on either side were *green Trees*, that bore [3]all manner of Fruit;[4] †and the leaves of the Trees were good for Medicine; with the Fruit of these Trees they were also much delighted;† and the leaves they eat to prevent Surfeits, and other Diseases that are incident to those that heat their blood by Tra-vels. On either side of the River was also a Meadow, curiously beautified with Lillies; And it was green all the year long. In this Meadow they lay down and slept, for here they might *lie down* [5]

A River. Psal. 65. 9. Rev. 22. Ezek. 47.

Trees by the River. *The Fruit and leaves of the Trees.*

A Meadow in which they lie down to sleep.

[5] Psal. 22. Isa. 14. 30.

[3] 'therefore all manner,' 2nd edit.

[4] From † to † is omitted, in the 2nd and sub. edits., probably a typographical error. The 7th and sub. edits. have '*green Trees*, for all manner of Fruit; and the Leaves,' &c. The first edition has this passage in its purity, but the words omitted in the 2nd were never restored.

[5] Quoted by all the editions, Psal. 22. It refers to Psal. 12. 5: but Psal. 23. 2, appears more suitable.

safely. When they awoke, they gathered again of the Fruit of the Trees, and drank again of the Water of the River: and then lay down again to sleep. Thus they did several days and nights. [5]'Then they sang:'

Behold ye how these Crystal streams do glide
(To comfort Pilgrims) by the Highway side;
The Meadows green, besides their fragrant smell,
Yield dainties for them: And he that can tell
What pleasant Fruit, yea Leaves, these Trees do yield,
Will soon sell all, that he may buy this Field.

So when they were disposed to go on (for they were not, as yet, at their Journeys end) they eat and drank, and departed.

Now I beheld in my Dream, that they had not journied far, but the River and the way, for a time, parted. At which they were not a little sorry, yet they durst not go out of the way. Now the way from the River was rough, and their feet tender by
Numb. 21. 4. reason of their [6]Travels: *So the soul*[7] *of the Pilgrims was much discouraged, because of the way:* Wherefore still as they went on, they wished for better way. Now a little before them, there was on the left hand of the Road, a *Meadow*, and a Stile to go over into it, and that *Meadow* is called *By-Path-Meadow.* Then said *Christian* to his fellow,
By-Path-Meadow. One Temptation does make way for another If this Meadow lieth along by our way side, lets go over into it. Then he went to the Stile to see, and behold a Path lay along by the way on the other side of the fence. 'Tis according to my wish said *Christian,* here is the easiest going; come good *Hopeful,* and [8]lets us go over.

[5] 2nd and sub. editions.
[6] 'their Trials,' 7th, but restored to 'Travels' in sub. edits.
[7] 'Souls of the Pilgrims were,' 8th and sub. edits.
[8] 'and let us,' 2nd and sub. edits.

Hop. *But how if this Path should lead us out of the way?*

Strong Christians may lead weak ones out of the way.

Chr. That's not like, said the other; look, doth it not go along by the way side? So *Hopeful*, being perswaded by his fellow, went after him over the Stile. When they were gone over, and were got into the Path, they found it very easie for their feet; and withal, they looking before them, espied a Man walking as they did, (and his name was *Vain confidence*) so they called after him, and asked him whither that way led? he said, To the Cœlestial Gate. Look, said *Christian*, did not I tell you so? by this you may see we are right: so they followed, and he went before them. But behold the night came on, and it grew very dark, so that they that were behind, lost the sight of him that went before.

'1 See what it is too suddenly to fall in with strangers.'*

Isa. 9. 16. *A Pit to catch the vain-glorious in.*

He therefore that went before (*Vain confidence* by name) not seeing the way before him, fell into a deep Pit, which was on purpose there made by the Prince of those grounds, to catch *vain glorious* fools withall, and was dashed in pieces with his fall.

Reasoning between Christian *and* Hopeful.

Now *Christian* and his fellow heard him fall. So they called, to know the matter, but there was none to answer, only they heard a groaning. Then said *Hopeful*, Where are we now? Then was his fellow silent, as mistrusting that he had led him out of the way. And now it began to rain, and thunder, and lighten in a very dreadful manner, and the water rose amain.

Then *Hopeful* groaned in himself, saying, *Oh that I had kept on my way!*

Chr. Who [2]could have thought that this path should have led us out of the way?

Hope. *I was afraid on't at* [3]*'the' very first, and*

[1] 2nd and sub. edits.
[2] 'Who would,' 7th edit.
[3] 'the,' first inserted in the 9th edit. 1684, and sub.

therefore gave you that gentle caution. I would have spoke plainer, but that you are [4]*older then I.*

Christians *repentance for leading of his* [5] *Bro out of the way.*

Chr. Good Brother be not offended, I am sorry I have brought thee out of the way, and that I have put thee into such eminent danger; pray my Brother forgive me, I did not do it of an evil intent.

Hope. *Be comforted my Brother for I forgive thee; and believe too, that this shall be for our good.*

Chr. I am glad I have with me a merciful Brother: But we must not stand thus, let's try to go back again.

Hope. *But good Brother let me go before.*

Chr. No, if you please, let me go first; that if there be any danger, I may be first therein, because by my means we are both gone out of the way.

Hope. *No, said* Hopeful, *you shall not go first, for your mind being troubled, may lead you out of the way again.* Then for their encouragement, they heard the voice of one saying, *Let thine heart be towards the High-way, even the way that thou wentest, turn again:* But by this time the Waters were greatly risen, by reason of which, the way of going back was very dangerous. (Then I thought that it is easier going out of the way when we are in, then going in when we are out.) Yet they adventured to go back; but it was so dark, and the flood was so high, that in their going back, they had like to have been drowned nine or ten times.

[6]Jer. 31. 21. *They are in danger of drowning as they go back.*

Neither could they, with all the skill they had, get again to the Stile that night. Wherefore, at last, lighting under a little shelter, they sat down there till the day brake; but being weary, they fell asleep. Now there was not far from the place where they lay, a *Castle*, called *Doubting-Castle*, the owner whereof was *Giant Despair*, and it was in his

They sleep in the grounds of Giant Despair.

[4] 'you are bolder,' 2nd edit.

[5] the 8th and sub. has 'Brother.'

[6] In all the editions, 'Jer. 31. 1,' is quoted, but the author certainly meant ver. 21st.



The Pilgrims now, to gratifie the Flesh,
Will seek its ease; but Oh! how they a fresh
Do thereby plunge themselves new grieves into
Who seek to please the Flesh, themselves undo.

Copied from the 9th edition, 1683, in which this cut first appeared.

grounds they now were sleeping; wherefore he getting up in the morning early, and walking up and down in his Fields, caught *Christian* and *Hopeful* asleep in his grounds. Then with a *grim* and *surly* voice he bid them awake, and asked them whence they were? and what they did in his grounds? They told him, they were Pilgrims, and that they had lost their way. Then said the *Giant*, You have this night trespassed on me, by trampling in, and lying on my grounds, and therefore you must go along with me. So they were forced to go, because he was stronger then they. They also had but little to say, for they knew themselves in a fault. The *Giant* therefore drove them before him, and put them into his Castle, into a very dark Dungeon, nasty and stinking to the [8]spirit of these two men: Here then they lay, from *Wednesday* morning till *Saturday* night, without one bit of bread, or drop of drink, or [9]any light, or any to ask how they did. They were therefore here in evil case, and were far from friends and acquaintance. Now in this place, *Christian* had double sorrow, because 'twas through his unadvised [1]haste that they were brought into this distress.

He finds them in his ground and carries them to Doubting *Castle.*

The Grievousness of their Imprisonment.

[7]Psal. 88. 18.

[2]'Now *Giant Despair* had a Wife, and her name 'was *Diffidence:* so when he was gone to bed, he 'told his Wife what he had done, to wit, that he 'had taken a couple of Prisoners, and cast them 'into his *Dungeon*, for trespassing on his grounds. 'Then he asked her also what he had best to do 'further to them. So she asked him what they 'were, whence they came, and whither they were

[7] The 2nd and sub. edit. quote ver. 16, but the 1st, which quotes ver. 18, is right.

[8] 'the Spirits,' 8th and sub. edits.

[9] 'or light,' 3rd and sub. edits.

[1] 'unadvised Counsel,' 8th and sub. edits.

[2] The narrative about Mrs. *Diffidence* as marked with inverted commas, was first introduced into the 2nd edition, and continued subsequently.

'bound; and he told her: Then she counselled
'him, that when he arose in the morning, he should
'beat them, without [3]any mercy: So when he
'arose, he getteth him a grievous Crab-tree
'Cudgel, and goes down into the *Dungeon* to them;
'and there, first falls to rateing of them as if they
'were dogs, although they gave him never a word
'of distaste; [4]'then' he falls upon them, and * beats
'them fearfully, in such sort, that they were not
'able to help themselves, or to turn them upon the
'floor. This done, he withdraws and leaves them,
'there to condole their misery, and to mourn under
'their distress: so all that day they spent the
'time in nothing but sighs and bitter lamentations.
'The next night she talking with her Husband
'about them further, and understanding that they
'were yet alive, did advise him to counsel them, to
'make away themselves: So when morning was
'come, he goes to them in a surly manner, [5]'as
'before,' and perceiving them to be very sore with
'the stripes that he had given them the day before;
'he told them, that since they were never like to
'come out of that place, their only way would be,
'forthwith to make* an end of themselves, either
'with Knife, Halter, or Poison: For why, said he,
'should you chuse life, seeing it is attended with
'so much bitterness. But they desired him to let
'them go; with that he looked ugly upon them,
'and rushing to them, had doubtless made an end
'of them [6]and himself, but that he fell into one of
'his fits; (for he sometimes [7]'in sun-shine wea-
'ther' fell into fits) and lost (for a time) the use of
'his hand: wherefore he withdrew, and left them,

On Thursday Giant Despair beats his Prisoners.

'*On Friday Giant Despair counsels them to kill themselves.*

'**The Giant sometimes has fits.*[5]

[3] 'without mercy:' 10th edit.
[4] 'then,' omitted in the 2nd edit.
[5] 3rd and sub. edits.
[6] 'of them himself,' 3rd and sub. edits.' and' was probably inserted in error by the printer.
[7] 'in sun-shine weather,' omitted in 2nd; again inserted in 3rd to 8th: 'in Sun-shiney weather,' 9th and sub. edits.

‘ (as before) to consider what to do. Then did the
‘ Prisoners consult between themselves, whether
‘ ’twas best to take his counsel or no: and thus
‘ they began to discourse.

‘* Christian *crushed.*[7]

‘ *Chr.* Brother, said *Christian*, what shall we do?
‘ the life that we now live is miserable: for my
‘ part, I know not whether is best, to live thus, or
‘* Job 7. 15. ‘ [8]to die out of hand? * *My soul chuseth strangling*
‘ *rather than life;* and the Grave is more easie for
‘ me than this Dungeon: Shall we be ruled by the
‘ Giant?

‘* Hopeful *comforts him.*[7]

‘ Hope. *Indeed our present condition is dreadful,*
‘ *and death would be far more welcome to me than* thus
‘ *for ever to abide: But yet let us consider, the Lord*
‘ *of the Country to which we are going, hath said,*
‘ *Thou shalt do no murther, no not to another man’s*
‘ *person; much more then are we forbidden to take*
‘ *his counsel to kill our selves. Besides, he that kills*
‘ *another, can but commit murder upon his body; but*
‘ *for one to kill himself, is to kill body and soul at*
‘ *once. And moreover, my Brother, thou talkest of*
‘ *ease in the Grave; but hast thou forgotten the Hell,*
‘ *whither for certain the murderers go? for no mur-*
‘ *derer hath eternal life,* etc. *And, let us consider*
‘ *again, that all the Law is not in the hand of* Giant
‘ Despair: *Others, so far as I can understand, have*
‘ *been taken by him, as well as we; and yet have es-*
‘ *caped out of his hand: Who knows, but that God*
‘ *that made the world, may cause, that* Giant Despair
‘ *may die; or that, at some time or other he may for-*
‘ *get to lock us in; or, but he may in*[9] *short time have*
‘ *another of his fits before us, and may lose the use of*
‘ *his limbs; and if ever that should come to pass again,*
‘ *for my part, I am resolved to pluck up the heart of a*
‘ *man, and to try my utmost to get from under his*
‘ *hand. I was a fool that I did not try to do it*

[7] 3rd and sub. edits.
[8] ‘or die,’ 8th and sub. edits.
[9] ‘in a short time,’ 8th and sub. edits.

'*before: but however, my Brother, let's be patient,*
'*and endure a while; the time may come that may*
'*give us a happy release: but let us not be our own*
'*murderers. With these words* Hopeful *at present*
'*did moderate the mind of his Brother; so they con-*
'*tinued together (in the dark) that day, in their sad*
'*and doleful condition.*

'Well, towards evening the Giant goes down
'into the Dungeon again, to see if his Prisoners
'had taken his counsel; but when he came there,
'he found them alive, and truly, alive was all: for
'now, what for want of Bread and Water, and by
'reason of the Wounds they received when he beat
'them, they could do little but breath: But, I say,
'he found them alive; at which he fell into a griev-
'ous rage, and told them, that seeing they had dis-
'obeyed his counsel, it should be worse with them,
'than if they had never been born.

'At this they trembled greatly, and I think that
'*Christian* fell into a Swound; but coming a little
'to himself again, they renewed their discourse
'about the *Giants* counsel; and whether yet they
'had best to take it or no. Now *Christian* again '[1] Christian *still dejected.*[1]
'seemed to be for doing it, but *Hopeful* made his
'second reply as followeth.

'*Hope. My Brother, said he, remembrest thou* '* Hopeful *comforts him*
'*not how valiant thou hast been heretofore;* Apollyon *again, by*
'*could not crush thee, nor could all that thou didst* *calling former*
'*hear, or see, or feel in the Valley of the shadow of* *things to re-*
'*Death; what hardship, terror, and amazement hast* *membrance.*[1]
'*thou already gone through, and art thou now nothing*
'*but fear? Thou seest that I am in the Dungeon*
'*with thee, a far weaker man by nature than thou art:*
'*Also this Giant has wounded me as well as thee; and*
'*hath also cut off the Bread and Water from my*
'*mouth; and with thee I mourn without the light:*
'*but let's exercise a little more patience. Remember*

[1] 3rd and sub. edits.

'*how thou playedst the man at* Vanity Fair, *and wast* 'neither *afraid of the Chain nor Cage; nor yet of* 'bloody *Death: wherefore let us (at least to avoid the* 'shame, *that becomes not a Christian to be found in)* 'bear *up with patience as well as we can.*

'Now night being come again, and the *Giant* 'and his Wife being in bed, she asked him con- 'cerning the Prisoners, and if they had taken his 'counsel: To which he replied, They are sturdy 'Rogues, they chuse rather to bear all hardship, 'than to make away themselves. Then said she, 'Take them into the Castle-yard to morrow, and 'show them the *Bones* and *Skulls* of those that thou 'hast already dispatch'd; and make them believe, 'e're a week comes to an end, thou also wilt tear 'them in pieces, as thou hast done their fellows be- 'fore them.

'So when the morning was come, the *Giant* goes 'to them again, and takes them into the Castle- 'yard, and shews them as his Wife had bidden 'him: *These, said he, were Pilgrims as you are, 'once, and they trespassed in my grounds, as you 'have done; and when I thought fit, I tore them 'in pieces; and so within ten days I will do you. 'Go get you down to your Den again; and with 'that he beat them all the way thither: [1]for they 'lay therefore all day on *Saturday* in [2]a lamentable 'case, as before. Now when night was come, and 'when Mrs. *Diffidence* and her Husband, the *Giant*, 'were got to bed, they began to renew their dis- 'course of their Prisoners: and withal, the old '*Giant* wondered, that he could neither by his 'blows, nor counsel, bring them to an end. And 'with that his Wife replied, I fear, said she, that 'they live in [3]hope that some will come to relieve 'them, or that they have pick-locks about them;

'* *On* Saturday *the Giant threatned, that shortly he would pull them in pieces.*

[1] 'for,' omitted in sub. edits.
[2] 'in lamentable,' 7th; restored to 'in a lamentable,' 8th, 9th, and 10th edits.
[3] 'in hopes,' 10th edit.

'by the means of which they hope to escape. 'And, sayest thou so, my dear, said the *Giant*, I 'will therefore search them in the morning.'

Well, on *Saturday* about midnight they began to *pray*, and continued in Prayer till almost break of day.

Now a little before it was day, good *Christian*, as one half amazed, brake out in this passionate Speech, *What a fool, quoth he, am I thus to lie in a stinking Dungeon, when I may as well walk at liberty!* I have a *Key* in my bosom, called *Promise*, that will, I am persuaded, open any Lock in *Doubting Castle*. Then said *Hopeful*, That's good news; good Brother pluck it out of thy bosom and try:

A Key in Christians *bosom called* Promise, *opens any Lock in* Doubting *Castle.*

Then *Christian* pulled it out of his bosom, and began to try at the Dungion door, whose bolt (as he turned the Key) gave back, and the door flew open with ease, and *Christian* and *Hopeful* both came out. Then he went to the outward door that leads into the *Castle yard*, and with his *Key* opened [4]the door also. After he went to the *Iron* Gate, for that must be opened too, but that Lock went *damnable* hard, yet the Key did open it; then they thrust open the Gate to make their escape with speed, but that Gate, as it opened, made such a [5]creaking, that it waked *Giant Despair*, who hastily rising to pursue his Prisoners, felt his Limbs to fail, [6]'for his fits took him again,' so that he could by no means go after them. Then they went on, and came to the Kings high way [7]again, and so were safe, because they were out of his Jurisdiction.

Now when they were gone over the Stile, they began to contrive with themselves what they should

[4] 'that door,' 8th and sub. edits.
[5] 'a cracking,' 3rd; 'a craking,' 7th and sub. edits.
[6] 3rd and sub. edits.
[7] 'again,' omitted in 3rd and sub. edits.

do at that Stile, to prevent those that should come after, from falling into the hands of *Giant Despair.*

'*A Pillar erected by Christian and his fellow.'

So they consented to erect there a Pillar, and to engrave upon the side thereof 'this Sentence?'[8] *Over this Stile is the Way to* Doubting-*Castle, which is kept by* Giant Despair, *who despiseth the King of the Cœlestial Countrey, and seeks to destroy his holy Pilgrims.* Many therefore that followed after, read what was written, and escaped the danger. This done, they sang as follows.

Out of the way we went, and then we found
What 'twas to tread upon forbidden ground:
And let them that come after have a care,
[9]*Lest heedlesness makes them, as we, to fare:*
Lest they, for trespassing, his prisoners are,
Whose Castle's Doubting, *and whose name's* Despair.

The delectable mountains.

They went then, till they came to the delectable Mountains, which Mountains belong to the Lord of that Hill, of which we have spoken before; so they went up to the Mountains, to behold the Gardens and Orchards, the Vineyards, and Fountains of water; where also they drank, and washed themselves, and did freely eat of the Vineyards. Now there was on the tops of these Mountains, Shepherds feeding their flocks, and they stood by the high-way side. The Pilgrims therefore went to them, and leaning upon their staves, (as is common with weary Pilgrims, when they stand to talk with any by the way,) they asked, *Whose delectable Mountains are these? and whose be the sheep that feed upon them?*

They are refreshed in the mountains.

'* Talk with the Shepherds.'[1]

[8] 8th and sub. edits.

[9] This line was omitted in 10th and sub. edits. Such a typographical error is easily accounted for by two following lines beginning with '*Lest.*' It is unfortunately left out of all the modern editions.

[1] 3rd and sub. edits.



Mountains delectable they now ascend,
Where Shepherds be, which to them do commend
Alluring things, and things that cautious are,
Pilgrims are steddy kept by faith and fear.

Copied from the 13th edition, 1692.

[2]John 10. 11. *Shep.* These Mountains are *Immanuels Land*, and they are within sight of his City, and the sheep also are his, and he laid down his life for them.

Chr. *Is this the way to the Cœlestial City?*

Shep. You are just in your way.

Chr. *How far is it thither?*

Shep. Too far for any, but those that [3]*shall* get thither indeed.

Chr. *Is the way safe, or dangerous?*

Shep. Safe for those for whom it is to be safe,
Hos. 14. 9: *but transgressors shall fall therein.*

Chr. *Is there in this place any relief for Pilgrims that are weary and faint in the way?*

Shep. The Lord of these Mountains hath given
Heb. 13. 1, 2, us a charge, *Not to be forgetful to entertain strangers:* Therefore the good of the place is [4]even before you.

I saw also in my Dream, that when the Shepherds perceived that they were way-fairing men, they also put questions to them, (to which they made answer as in other places,) as, Whence came you? and, How got you into the way? and, By what means have you so persevered therein? For but few of them that begin to come hither, do shew their face on these Mountains. But when the Shepherds heard their answers, being pleased therewith, they looked very lovingly upon them;

'* *The shepherds welcome them.*' [5] and said, *Welcome to the delectable Mountains.*

'*The Names of the shepherds.*' [5] The Shepherds, I say, whose names were *Knowledge*, *Experience*, *Watchful*, and *Sincere*, took them by the hand, and had them to their Tents, and made them partake of that which was ready at present. They said moreover, We would that you should stay here a while, to [6]acquaint with us, and yet more to solace yourselves with the good of these

[2] Omitted in 2nd and sub. edits.

[3] '*shall*,' roman, in all but the first edit.

[4] 'even,' omitted in all but the first edit.

[5] 3rd and sub. edits.

[6] 'to be acquainted,' 2nd and sub. edits.

delectable Mountains. They [7]'then' told them, That they were content to stay; and so they went to their rest that night, because it was very late.

Then I saw in my Dream, that in the morning, the Shepherds called up *Christian* and *Hopeful* to walk with them upon the Mountains: So they went forth with them, and walked a while, having a pleasant prospect on every side. Then said the Shepherds one to another, Shall we shew these Pilgrims some wonders? So when they had concluded to do it, they had them first to the top of an Hill called [9]*Errour*, which was very steep on the furthest side, and bid them look down to the bottom. So *Christian* and *Hopeful* lookt down, and saw at the bottom several men dashed all to pieces by a fall that they had from the top. Then said *Christian*, What meaneth this? The Shepherds answered; Have you not heard of them that were made to err, by harkening to *Hymeneus*, and *Philetus*, as concerning the Faith of the Resurrection of the Body? They answered, Yes. Then said the Shepherds, Those that you see lie dashed in pieces at the bottom of this Mountain, *are they:* and they have continued to this day unburied (as you see) for an example to others to take heed how they clamber too high, or how they come too near the brink of this Mountain.

'[8] *They are sure wonders.*'[7]

The Mountain of [9] Errour.

'[*] 2 Tim. 2. 17, 18.'[1]

Then I saw that they had them to the top of another Mountain, and the name of that is *Caution*; and bid them look a far off. Which when they did, they perceived as they thought, several men walk-

Mount Caution.

[7] 3rd and sub. edits.

[8] In 1727, and in all modern editions, this was altered to 'shewn wonders;' but the author's meaning appears to be—that those wonders were real, undoubted, *sure*. From the introduction of this note to Bunyan's death he continued the word '*sure*.'

[9] Spelt 'Error,' in 2nd and sub. edits.

[1] 2nd and sub. edits. quoted as ver. 18, 19; but corrected in 8th and sub. to 17, 18.

ing up and down among the Tombs that were there. And they perceived that the men were blind, because they stumbled sometimes upon the Tombs, and because they could not get out from among them. Then said *Christian*, *What* [2]*means this?*

The Shepherds then answered, Did you not see a little below these Mountains a *Stile* that led into a Meadow on the left hand of this way? They answered, Yes. Then said the Shepherds, From that Stile there goes a path that leads directly to *Doubting-Castle*, which is kept by *Giant Despair;* and these men (pointing to them among the Tombs) came once on Pilgrimage, as you do now, even till they came to that same *Stile*. And because the right way was rough in that place, they chose to go out of it into that Meadow, and there were taken by Giant *Despair*, and cast into *Doubting-Castle;* where, after they had a while been kept in the Dungeon, he at last did put out their eyes, and led them among those Tombs, where he has left them to wander to this very day; that the saying of the
Prov. 21. 16.[4] wise Man might be fulfilled, *He that wandereth out of the way of understanding, shall remain in the Congregation of the dead.* Then *Christian* and *Hopeful* looked [3]one upon another, with tears gushing out; but yet said nothing to the Shepherds.

Then I saw in my Dream, that the Shepherds had them to another place, in a bottom, where was a door in the side of an Hill; and they opened the door, and bid them look in. They looked in therefore, and saw that within it was very dark, and smoaky; they also thought that they heard there a [5]lumbring noise as of fire, and a cry of some tor-

[2] 'What meant this,' 2nd to 7th, but restored to 'means,' in 8th and sub. edits.

[3] 'upon one another,' 3rd and sub. edits.

[4] Quoted in error, Prov. 21. 26, in all the edits.

[5] 'lumbring,' altered to 'rumbling,' in the 2nd and sub. edits.

mented, and that they smelt the scent of Brimstone. Then said *Christian, What means this?* The Shepherds told them, [6]saying, this is a By-way to Hell, a way that Hypocrites go in at; namely, such as sell their Birth-right, with *Esau:* such as sell their Master, with *Judas:* such as blaspheme the Gospel, with *Alexander:* and that lie and dissemble, with *Ananias* and *Saphira* his wife. *A by-way o Hell.*

Hopef. Then said *Hopeful* to the Shepherds, *I perceive that these had on them, even every one, a shew of Pilgrimage as we have now; had they not?*

Shep. Yes, and held it a long time too.

Hopef. *How far might they go on Pilgrimage in their* [7]*day, since they notwithstanding were thus miserably cast away?*

Shep. Some further, and some not so far as these Mountains.

Then said the Pilgrims one to another, *We had need* '*to*[8]' *cry to the Strong for strength.*

Shep. Ay, and you will have need to use it when you have it, too.

By this time the Pilgrims had a desire to go forwards, and the Shepherds a desire they should; so they walked together towards the end of the Mountains. Then said the Shepherds one to another, Let us here shew to the Pilgrims the Gates of the Cœlestial City, if they have skill to look through our Perspective Glass. The Pilgrims then lovingly accepted the motion: So they had them to the top of an high Hill, called *Clear,* and gave them their Glass to look. Then they essayed to look, but the remembrance of that last thing that the Shepheards had shewed them, made their [1]hand shake, by means of which

'* *The Shepherds Perspective-glass.*' 9 * *The Hill* Clear.

[6] 'saying,' omitted in 2nd and sub. edits.

[7] 'their days,' 9th edit. 1683.

[8] 'to,' added in the 8th and sub. edits.

2nd and sub. edits.

[1] 'their hands,' 3rd and sub.

impediment, they could not look steddily through the Glass; yet they thought they saw something like the Gate, and also some of the Glory of the place, [4]'Then they went away and sang' [5]'this Song.'

The [2]fruit of [3]slavish fear.

Thus by the Shepherds, *Secrets are reveal'd,*
Which from all other men are kept conceal'd:
Come to the Shepherds *then, if you would see*
Things deep, things hid, and that mysterious be.

When they were about to depart, one of the Shepherds gave them a *note of the way*, Another of them *bid them beware of the flatterer*, The third, *bid them take heed that they sleep not upon the Inchanted Ground*, and the fourth, *bid them God speed*. So I awoke from my Dream.

'[6]A two-fold caution.'[6]

And I slept, and Dreamed again, and saw the same two Pilgrims going down the Mountains along the High-way towards the City. Now a little below these Mountains, on the left hand, lieth the Countrey of *Conceit*, from which Countrey there comes into the way in which the Pilgrims walked, a little crooked Lane. Here therefore they met with a very brisk Lad, that came out of that Countrey; and his name was *Ignorance*. So *Christian* asked him, *From what parts he came? and whither he was going?*

The Countrey of Conceit, *out of which came* Ignorance.

Ign. Sir, I was born in the Countrey that lieth off there, a little on the left hand; [7]and I am going to the Cœlestial City.

Christian *and* Ignorance *hath some talk.*

Chr. *But how do you think to get in at the Gate, for you may find some difficulty there?*

Ign. As other good People do, said he.

[2] 'The fruits,' 7th and sub.
[3] 'slavish' altered to 'servile,' 9th and sub. edits.
[4] Added to the 3rd and sub. edits.
[5] 'this Song,' 8th and sub. edits.
[6] 2nd and sub. edits.
[7] 'and am,' 10th edit.

Chr. *But what have you to shew at that Gate, that may cause that the Gate should be opened to you?*

Ign. I know my Lords will, and I have been a good Liver, I pay every man his own; I Pray, Fast, pay Tithes, and give Alms, and have left my Countrey, for whither I am going. [8] *The ground of Ignorance's hope.*'

Chr. *But thou camest not in at the Wicket-gate, that is at the head of this way, thou camest in hither through that same crooked Lane, and therefore I fear, however thou mayest think of thy self, when the reckoning day shall come, thou wilt have laid to thy charge, that thou art a Theif and a Robber, instead of* [9]*'getting' admitance into the City.*

Ignor. Gentlemen, ye be utter strangers to me, I know you not, be content to follow the Religion of your Countrey, and I will follow the Religion of mine. I hope all will be well. And as for the Gate that you talk of, all the World knows that that is a great way off of our Countrey. I cannot think that any man in all our parts doth so much as know the way to it; nor need they matter whether they do or no, since we have, as you see, a fine pleasant green Lane, that comes down from our Countrey the next way into [1]it. *He saith to every one that he is a fool.*

When *Christian* saw that the man was wise in his own conceit, he said to *Hopeful* whisperingly, *There is more hopes of a fool then of him.* And said moreover, *When he that is a fool walketh by the way, his wisdom faileth him, and he saith to every one that he is a fool.* What, shall we talk further with him? or out-go him at present? and so leave him to think of what he hath heard already; and then stop again for him afterwards, and see if by degrees we can do any good of him? [9]'Then said *Hopeful:*' Pr. 26. 12.[2] Eccl. 10. 3. *How to carry it to a fool.*

[8] 8th and sub. edits.
[9] 2nd and sub. edits.
[1] 'into the way,' 8th and sub.
[2] 2nd to the 8th edit. quote ver. 11; 9th and sub. ver. 12.

Let Ignorance a little while now muse
On what is said, and let him not refuse
Good Counsel to imbrace, lest he remain
Still Ignorant of what's the chiefest gain.
God saith, Those that no understanding have,
(Although he made them) them he will not save.

Hop. [4]'He further added,' It is not good, I think, to say[5] all to him at once, let us pass him by, if you will, and talk to him anon, *even as he is able to bear it.*

So they both went on, and Ignorance he came after. Now when they had passed him a little way, they entered into a very dark Lane, where they met a man whom seven Devils had bound with seven strong Cords, and were [6]carrying of him back *to the door* that they saw [7]in the side of the Hill. Now good *Christian* began to tremble, and so did *Hopeful* his Companion: Yet as the Devils led away the man, *Christian* looked to see if he knew him, and he thought it might be one *Turn-away* that dwelt in the *Town* of *Apostacy*. But he did not perfectly see his face, for he did hang his head like a Thief that is found: But being gone past, *Hopeful* looked after him, and espied on his back a Paper with this Inscription, *Wanton Professor, and damnable Apostate.* Then said *Christian* to his Fellow, Now I call to remembrance that which was told me of a thing that happened to a good man hereabout. The name of the man was *Little-Faith*, but a good man, and he dwelt in the Town of *Sincere.* The thing was this; at the entering in of this passage there comes down from *Broad-way-gate* a Lane called *Dead-mans-lane;* so called, because of the Murders that are commonly done there. And

Matt. 12. 45. Prov. 5. 22.

The destruction of one Turn-away.

Christian *telleth his Companion a story of* Little-Faith.

Broad-way-gate.

Dead-man's Lane.

[4] 2nd and sub. edits.
[5] 'to say to him all at once,' 9th, 1684, and sub. edits.
[6] 'were a carrying,' 9th edit., 1684, and sub. edits.
[7] 'saw on,' 2nd and sub.

this *Little-Faith* going on Pilgrimage, as we do now, chanced to sit down there and slept. Now there happened, at that time, to come down that *Lane* from *Broad-way-gate* three [8]Sturdy Rogues, and their names were *Faint-heart*, *Mistrust*, and *Guilt*, (three brothers) and they espying *Little-Faith* where he was, came galloping up with speed: Now the good man was just awaked from his sleep, and was getting up to go on his Journey. So they came [9]all up to him, and with threatning Language bid him *stand.* At this, *Little faith* lookt as white as a Clout, and had neither power to fight nor flie. Then said *Faint-heart*, Deliver thy Purse; but he making no haste to do it, (for he was loth to lose his Money,) *Mistrust* ran up to him, and thrusting his hand into his Pocket, pull'd out thence a bag of Silver. Then he cried out, Thieves, thieves. With that, *Guilt* with a great Club that was in his hand, strook *Little-Faith* on the head, and with that blow fell'd him flat to the ground, where he lay bleeding as one that would bleed to death. All this while the Thieves stood by: But at last, they hearing that some were upon the Road, and fearing lest it should be one *Great-grace* that dwells in the City of *Good confidence*, they betook themselves to their heels, and left this good man to shift for himself. Now after a while, *Little-faith* came to himself, and getting up, made shift to [1]scrabble on his way. This was the story.

Little-Faith robbed by Faint-heart, Mistrust, and Guilt.

They got away his Silver, and knockt him down.

Hopef. *But did they take from him all that ever he had?*

Christ. No: The place where his Jewels were, they never ransak't, so those he kept still; but as,

Little-faith lost not his best things.

[8] 'hardy Rogues;' 7th: restored to 'sturdy' in 8th and sub. edits.

[9] 'up all,' 2nd and sub.

[1] 'to scramble,' 8th and sub. edits. 'Scrabble,' to go on all fours.

I was told, the good man was much afflicted for his loss. For the Thieves got most of his spending
1 Pet. 4. 18. Money. That which they got not (as I said) were Jewels, also he had a little odd Money left, but
Little-Faith *forced to beg to his Journeys end.* *scarce* enough to bring him to his Journeys end; nay, (if I was not mis-informed) he was forced to beg as he went, to keep himself alive, (for his Jewels he might not sell.) But beg, and do what he could, *he went* (as we say) *with many a hungry belly*, the most part of the rest of the way.

Hopef. *But is it not a wonder they got not from him his Certificate, by which he was to receive his admittance at the Cœlestial gate?*

He kept not his best Things by his own Cunning. 2 Tim. 1. 14. *Chr.* [3]No ' 'Tis a wonder but ' they got not that: though they mist it not through any good cunning of his, for he being dismayed with their coming upon him, had neither power nor skill to hide any thing: so 'twas more by good Providence then by his Indeavour, that they mist of *that good thing.*

Hopef. *But it must needs be a comfort to him, that they got not this* [5]*Jewel from him.*

2 Pet. 1. 9.[4] *Chr.* It might have been great comfort to him, had he used it as he should; but they that told me the story, said, That he made but little use of it all the rest of the way; and that because of the dismay that he had in [6]their taking away [7]of his Money: indeed he forgot it a great part of the rest of [8]the Journey; and besides, when at any time, it came into his mind, and he began to be comforted therewith, then would fresh thoughts of his loss come again upon him, and those thoughts would swallow up all.

[3] 'No,' omitted; and ''Tis a wonder but,' inserted in 2nd and sub. edits.

[4] All the editions agree in this reference: probably a misprint for 2 Pet. 2. 9.

[5] 'this Jewels,' a typ. error in 2nd edit.; altered to 'his Jewels,' 3rd; but restored to 'this Jewel,' 8th and sub. edits.

[6] 'in the taking,' 7th, 9th, 1684, and sub.

[7] 'of,' omitted, 3rd, 9th, 1684, and sub.

[8] 'of his Journey,' 2nd and sub. edits.

Hope. *Alas poor Man! this could not but be a great grief unto him.* *He is pitied by both.*

Chr. Grief! Ay, a grief indeed. would it [9]not a been so to any of us, had we been used as he, to be Robbed and wounded too, and that in a strange place, as he was? 'Tis a wonder he did not die with grief, poor heart! I was told, that he scattered almost all the rest of the way with no thing but doleful and bitter complaints. Telling also to all that over-took him, or that he over-took in the way as he went, where he was Robbed, and how; who they were that did it, and what he lost; how he was wounded, and that he hardly escaped with life.

Hope. But 'tis a wonder that his [1]*necessities did not put him upon* selling, or pawning *some of his Jewels, that he might have* [2]*wherewith to relieve himself in his Journey.*

Chr. Thou talkest like one upon whose head is the Shell to this very day: For what should he *pawn* them? or to whom should he sell them? In all that Countrey where he was Robbed, his Jewels were not accounted of, nor did he want that relief which could from thence be administred to him; besides, had his Jewels been missing at the Gate of the Cœlestial City, he had (and that he knew well enough) been excluded from an Inheritance there; and that would have been worse to him then the appearance and villany of ten thousand Thieves. Christian *snibbeth his fellow for unadvised speaking.*

Hope. Why art thou so tart my Brother? Esau sold his Birth-right, *and that for a mess of Pottage; and that Birth-right was his greatest Jewel; and if he, why might not* Little-Faith *do so too?* Heb. 12. 16.

Chr. Esau did sell his Birth-right indeed, and so do many besides; and by so doing, exclude themselves from the chief blessing, as also that *Caytiff* did. But you must put a difference betwixt *Esau* *A discourse about* Esau *and* Little-Faith.

[9] 'not have been,' 2nd and sub. edits.

[1] 'his necessity,' 3rd and sub.

[2] 'therewith,' 8th and sub.

and *Little-faith*, and also betwixt their Estates. *Esau's* Birth-right was Typical, but *Little-faith's* Jewels were not so. *Esau's* belly was his God, but *Little-faith's* belly was not so. *Esau's* want lay in his fleshly appetite, *Little-faith's* did not so. Besides, *Esau* could see no further then to the fulfilling of his Lusts, *For I am at the point to dye*, said he, *and what good will this Birth-right do me?* But *Little-faith*, though it was his lot to have but a *little faith*, was by his *little faith* kept from such extravagancies; and made to *see* and *prize* his Jewels more, then to sell them, as *Esau* did his Birth-right. You read not any where that *Esau* had *faith*, no not so much as a little: Therefore no marvel, if where the flesh only bears sway (as it will in that Man where *no* faith is to resist) if he sells his *Birth-right*, and his Soul and all, and that to the Devil of Hell; for it is with such, as it is with the Ass, *Who in her occasions cannot be turned away.* When their minds are set upon their Lusts, they will have them whatever they cost. But *Little-faith* was of another temper, his mind was on things Divine; his livelyhood was upon things that were Spiritual, and from above; Therefore to what end should he that is of such a temper sell his Jewels, (had there been any that would have bought them) to fill his mind with empty things? Will a man give a penny to fill his belly with Hay? or can you perswade the *Turtle-dove* to live upon Carrion, like the *Crow?* Though *faithless* ones, can for carnal Lusts, pawn, or morgage, or sell what they have, and themselves outright to boot; yet they that have *faith*, *saving faith*, though but a *little* of it, cannot do so. Here therefore, my Brother, is thy mistake.

Esau *was ruled by his lusts.* Gen. 25. 32.

Esau *never had faith.*

Jer. 2. 24.

Little-Faith *could not live upon* Esaus *Pottage.*

A comparison between the Turtle-dove *and the* Crow.

Hopef. *I acknowledge it; but yet your severe reflection had almost made me angry.*

Chr. Why, I did but compare thee to some of the Birds that are of the brisker sort, who will run to

and fro in [5]troden paths with the shell upon their heads: but pass by that, and consider the matter under debate, and all shall be well betwixt thee and me.

Hopef. *But* Christian, *These three fellows, I am perswaded in my heart, are but a company of Cowards: would they have run else, think you, as they did, at the noise of one that was coming on the road? Why did* Little-faith *pluck up a* [6]*great heart? He might, methinks, have stood one brush with them, and have yielded when there had been no remedy.* Hopeful *swaggers.*

Chr. That they are Cowards, many have said, but few have found it so in the time of Trial. As for *a great heart*, *Little-faith* had none; and I perceive by thee, my Brother, hadst thou been the Man concerned, thou art but for a brush, and then to yield. And verily, since this is the height of thy Stomach now they are at a distance from us, should they appear to thee, as they did to him, they might put thee to second thoughts. *No great heart for God, where there is but little faith.* *We have more courage when out, then when we are in.*

But consider again, they are but Journey-men-Thieves, they serve under the King of the Bottom-less pit; who, if need be, will come in to their aid himself, and his voice is *as the roaring of a Lion.* I my self have been Ingaged as this *Little-faith* was, and I found it a terrible thing. These three Villains set upon me, and I beginning like a *Christian* to resist, they gave but a call, and in came their Master: I would, as the saying is, have given my life for a penny; but that, as God would have it, I was cloathed with Armour of proof. Ay, and yet though I was so harnessed, I found it hard work to quit my self like a man; no man can tell what in that Combat attends us, but he that hath been in the Battle himself. [7] Psal. 5. 8. Christian *tells his own experience in this case.*

[5] 'untrodden paths,' 3rd and sub. edits.

[6] 'a greater,' 2nd and sub. edits., except the 9th, 1683, which has 'great.'

[7] 'Psal. 8. 5,' 7th edit.; but ought it not to be 1 Pet. 5. 8?

Hopef. *Well, but they ran you see, when they did but suppose that one* Great-grace *was in the way.*

Chr. True, they [8]'have' often fled, both they and their Master, when *Great-grace* hath but appeared, and no marvel, for he is *the Kings Champion:* But I tro, you will put some difference between *Little-faith* and the *Kings Champion;* all the Kings Subjects are not his Champions: nor can they, when tried, do such feats of War as he. Is it meet to think that a little child should handle *Goliah* as *David* did? or that there should be the strength of an *Ox* in a *Wren?* Some are strong, some are weak, some have *great* faith, some have *little:* this man was one of the weak, and therefore he went to the walls.

The Kings Champion.

Hopef. *I would it had been* Great-grace, *for their sakes.*

Chr. If it had been he, he might have had his hands full: For I must tell you, That though *Great-grace* is excellent good at his Weapons, and has and can, so long as he keeps them at Swords point, do well enough with them: yet if they get within him, even *Faint-heart, Mistrust,* or the other, it shall go hard but they will throw up his heels. And when a man is down, you know what can he do.

Who so looks well upon *Great-graces* face, shall see those Scars and Cuts there, that shall easily give demonstration of what I say. Yea once I heard [9]'that' he should say, (and that when he was in the Combat) *We despaired even of life:* How did these sturdy Rogues and their Fellows make *David* groan, mourn, and roar? Yea, [1]*Heman,* and *Hezekiah* too, though Champions in their day, were

[8] 'have,' added in 3rd and sub. edits.

[9] Added to 3rd and sub. edits.

[1] 'Haman,' 3rd to 7th, 9th, 1683. This led to the singular alteration mentioned in the Introduction: Haman not having been a Christian champion, his name was changed for Mordecai!

forced to bestir them, when by these assaulted; and yet, [2]that notwithstanding, they had their Coats soundly brushed by them. *Peter* upon a time would go try what he could do; but, though some do say of him that he is the Prince of the Apostles, they handled him so, that they made him at last afraid of a sorry Girle.

Besides, their King is at their Whistle, he is never out of hearing; and if at any time they be put to the worst, he, if possible, comes in to help them: And, of him it is said, *The Sword of him that layeth at him cannot hold the Spear, the Dart, nor the Habergeon. he esteemeth Iron as Straw, and Brass as rotten Wood. The Arrow cannot make him flie. Slingstones are turned with him into stubble, Darts are counted as stubble, he laugheth at the shaking of a Spear.* What can a man do in this case? 'Tis true, if a man could at every turn have *Jobs* Horse, and had skill and courage to ride him, he might do notable things. *For his neck is clothed with Thunder, he will not be afraid as the Grashoper, the glory of his Nostrils is terrible, he paweth in the Valley, rejoyceth in his strength, and goeth out to meet the armed men. He mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted, neither turneth back from the Sword. The quiver rattleth against him, the glittering Spear, and the shield. He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage, neither believeth he that it is the sound of the Trumpet. He saith among the Trumpets, Ha, ha; and he smelleth the Battel a far off, the thundring of the Captains, and the shoutings.*

Job 41. 26. Leviathans *sturdiness.*

[3]Job 39. 19. *The excellent mettle that is in* Jobs *Horse.*

But for such footmen as thee and I are, let us never desire to meet with an enemy, nor vaunt as if we could do better, when we hear of others that they have been foiled, nor be tickled at the thoughts of our own manhood, for such commonly come by

[2] 'that,' omitted in 2nd and sub. edits.

[3] Quotation added to the 3rd and sub. edits.

the worst when tried. Witness *Peter*, of whom I made mention before. He would swagger, Ay he would: He would as his vain mind prompted him to say, do better, and stand more for his Master, then all men: But who so foiled, and run down by these [4]*Villains*, as he?

When therefore we hear that such Robberies are done on the Kings High-way, two things become us to do; first to go out Harnessed, and to be sure *to take a Shield with us:* For it was for want of that, that he that laid so lustily at *Leviathan* could not make him yield. For indeed, if that be wanting, he fears us not at all. Therefore he that had skill,

Eph. 6. 16. hath said, *Above all take the Shield of Faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.*

'Tis good to have a Convoy.

'Tis good also that we desire of the King a Convoy, yea that he will go with us himself. This made *David* rejoyce when in the Valley of the

Ex. 33. 15. shaddows [5]of death; and *Moses* was rather for dyng where he stood, then to go one step without

Psal. 3. 5, 6, 7, 8. Psal. 27. 1, 2, 3. his God. O my Brother, if he will but go along with us, what need we be afraid of ten thousands that shall set themselves against us, but without

Isa. 10. 4. him, *the proud helpers fall under the slain.*

I for my part have been in the fray before now, and though (through the goodness of him that is best) I am as you see alive: yet I cannot boast of my manhood. Glad shall I be, if I meet with no more such brunts, though I fear we are not got beyond all danger. However, since the Lion and the Bear [6]hath not as yet devoured me, I hope God will also deliver us from the next uncircumcised *Philistine.* [7]'Then sang *Christian:*'

[4] 'with these villanies,' 2nd to 7th; it is restored to 'these Villains,' in the 8th and sub. edits.

[5] Corrected to 'Shadow of death,' in the 8th and sub. edits.

[6] 'have not,' 3rd and sub. edits.

[7] Added in the 3rd and sub. edits.

Poor Little-faith! *Hast been among the Thieves?*
Wast robb'd! Remember this, Who so believes
[8]*And gets more faith, shall then a Victor be*
Over ten thousand, else scarce over three.

So they went on, and *Ignorance* followed. They went then till they came at a place where they saw a *way* put it self into their *way*, and seemed withal, to lie as straight as the way which they should go; and here they knew not which of the two to take, for both seemed straight before them; therefore here they stood still to consider. And as they were thinking about the way, behold a man black of flesh, but covered with a very light Robe, came to them and asked them, Why they stood there? They answered, They were going to the Cœlestial City, but knew not which of these ways to take. Follow me, said the man, it is thither that I am going. So they followed him in the way that but now came into the road, which by degrees turned, and turned them so from the City that they desired to go to, that in little time their faces were turned away from it; yet they followed him. But by and by, before they were aware, he led them both within the compass of a Net, in which they were both so entangled that they knew not what to do; and with that, the *white Robe fell off the black mans back;* then they saw where they were. Wherefore there they lay crying sometime, for they could not get themselves out.

A way and a way.

'[9] *The flatterer finds them.*'

Christian *and his fellow deluded.*

They are taken in a Net.

Chr. Then said *Christian* to his fellow, Now do I see my self in an errour. Did not the Shepherds bid us beware of the flatterers? As is the saying of the Wise man, so we have found it this day: *A*

They bewail their conditions.

Pro. 29. 5.

[8] 'And get more Faith; then shall you Victors be,' 3rd and sub. edits.

[9] 8th and sub. edits.

man that flattereth his Neighbour, spreadeth a Net for his feet.

Hopef. They also gave us a note of directions about the way, for our more sure finding thereof: but there-in we have also forgotten to read, and have not kept our selves from the Paths of the destroyer.

Psal. 17. 4. Here *David* was wiser than wee; for saith he, *Concerning the works of men, by the word of thy lips, I have kept me from the Paths of the destroyer.* Thus they lay bewailing themselves in the Net. At last they espied a shining One coming towards them, with a whip of small cord in his hand. When he was come to the place where they were, He asked them whence they came? and what they did there? They told him, That they were poor Pilgrims going to *Sion*, but were led out of their way, by a black man, cloathed in white, who bid us, said they, follow him; for he was going thither too. Then said he with the Whip, it is *Flatterer,* a false Apostle, that hath transformed himself into an Angel of light. So he rent the Net, and let the men out. Then said he to them, Follow me, that I may set you in your way again; so he led them back to the way, which they had left to follow the *Flatterer*. Then he asked them, saying, Where did you lie the last night? They said, with the Shepherds upon the delectable Mountains. He asked them then, If they had not [2]of them Shepherds *a note of direction for the way?* They answered, Yes. But did you, said he, when you [4]was at a stand, pluck out and read your note? They answered, No. He asked them why? They said they forgot. He asked, moreover, If the Shepherds did not bid them beware of the *Flatterer?* They answered, Yes; But we did not imagine, said they, [3]that this fine-spoken man had been he.[3]

A shining one comes to them with a whip in his hand.

Pro. 29. 5. Da. 11. 32. 2 Cor. 11. 13, 14.

They are examined and convicted of forgetfulness

Deceivers fine spoken. Rom. 16. 18.

[2] 'of those,' 10th edit.
[3] to [3] Italics, 2nd and sub. edits.
[4] 'you were,' 2nd and sub. edits.

Then I saw in my Dream, that he commanded them to *lie down;* which when they did, he chastized them sore, to teach them the good way wherein they should walk; and as he chastized them, he said, *As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten; be zealous therefore, and repent.* This done, he bids them go on their way, and take good heed to the other directions of the Shepherds. So they thanked him for all his kindness, and went softly along the right way, [5] 'Singing.'

Deut. 25. 2. 2 Chron. 6. 26, 27. Rev. 3. 19.

They are whipt, and sent on their way.

Come hither, you that walk along the way;
See how the Pilgrims fare, that go a stray!
They catched are in an intangling Net,
'Cause they good Counsel lightly did forget:
'Tis true, they rescu'd were, but yet you see
They're scourg'd to boot: Let this your caution be.

Now after a while, they perceived afar off, one coming softly and alone, all along the High-way to meet them. Then said *Christian* to his fellow, Yonder is a man with his back toward *Sion*, and he is coming to meet us.

Hopef. I see him, let us take heed to our selves now, lest he should prove a *Flatterer* also. So he drew nearer and nearer, and at last came up unto them. His name was *Atheist*, and he asked them [6] whether they were going?

The Atheist *meets them.*

Chr. *We are going to the Mount* Sion.

Then *Atheist* fell into a very great Laughter.

He Laughs at them.

Chr. What is the meaning of your Laughter?

Atheist. I Laugh to see what ignorant persons you are, to take upon you so tedious a Journey; and yet are like to have nothing but your travel for your paines.

Chr. *Why man? Do you think we shall not be received?*

They reason together.

[5] 3rd and sub. edits.

[6] 'whither,' 2nd and sub.

Atheist. Received! There is no such place as you Dream of, in all this World.

Chr. *But there is in the World to come.*

Atheist. When I was at home in mine own Country, I heard as you now affirm, and, from that hearing went out to see, and have been seeking this City [8]this twenty years: But find no more of it, than I did the first day I set out.

[7] Jer. 22. 13. Ec. 10. 15.

Chr. *We have both heard and believe that there is such a place to be found.*

Atheist. Had not I, when at home, believed, I had not come thus far to seek: But finding none, (and yet I should, had there been such a place to be found, for I have gone to seek it further than you) I am going back again, and will seek to refresh my self with the things that I then cast away, for hopes of that which I now see is not.

The Atheist *takes up his content in this World.*

Chr. Then said *Christian* to *Hopeful*, his [9]Fellow, *Is it true which this man hath said?*

Christian *proveth his Brother.*

Hopef. Take heed, he is one of the *Flatterers;* remember what it hath cost us once already for our harkning to such kind of Fellows. What! no Mount *Sion!* Did we not see from the delectable Mountains the Gate of the City? Also, are we not now to walk by Faith? Let us go on, said *Hopeful*, lest the man with the Whip [2]overtakes us again.

Hopefuls *gracious answer.* 2 Cor. 5. 7.

[1] **A remembrance of former chastizements is an help against present temptations.'*

You should have taught me that Lesson, which I will round you in the ears withall; *Cease, my son, to hear the Instruction that causeth to err from the words of knowledge.* I say my Brother, cease to hear him, and let us believe to the saving of the Soul.

Prov. 19. 27.

Heb. 10. 39.

Chr. *My Brother, I did not put the question to*

[7] All the editions agree in this reference, but should it not be ver. 12?

[8] 'this,' omitted in 8th and sub. edits.

[9] Altered to 'Companion,' in the 10th edit., 1685.

[1] 2nd and sub. edits.

[2] 'overtake,' 8th and sub. edits.

thee, for that I doubted of the truth of our belief myself: But to prove thee, and to fetch from thee a fruit of the honesty of thy heart. As for this man, I know that he is blinded by the god of this World: Let thee and I go on, knowing that we have belief of the Truth, and no lie is of the Truth.

A fruit of an honest heart.

1 John 2. 21.[3]

Hopef. Now do I rejoyce in hope of the Glory of God: So they turned away from the man; and he, Laughing at them, went his way.

I saw then in my Dream, that they went till they came into a certain Countrey, whose Air naturally tended to make one drowsie, if he came a stranger into it. And here *Hopeful* began to be very dull and heavy of sleep, wherefore he said unto *Christian*, I do now begin to grow so drowsie, that I can scarcely hold up mine eyes; let us lie down here and take one Nap.

They are come to the inchanted ground

Hopeful *begins to be drowsie,*

Chr. By no means, said the other, *lest sleeping, we never awake more.*

Christian *keeps him awake.*

Hopef. Why my Brother? sleep is sweet to the Labouring man; we may be refreshed if we take a Nap.

Chr. *Do you not remember that one of the Shepherds bid us beware of the Inchanted ground? He meant by that, that we should beware of sleeping; wherefore let us not sleep as* [4]*do others, but let us watch and be sober.*

1 Thes. 5. 6.

Hopef. I acknowledge my self in [5] 'a' fault, and had I been here alone, I had by sleeping run the danger of death. I see it is true that the wise man saith, *Two are better than one.* Hitherto hath thy Company been my mercy; *and thou shalt have a good reward for thy labour.*

He is thankful.

Eccles. 4. 9.

Chr. *Now then,* said *Christian, to prevent drowsiness in this place, let us fall into good discourse.*

To prevent drowsiness they fall to good discourse.

[3] All the editions quote 1 John 2. 11; evidently a typ. error for ver 21..

[4] 'others do,' 7th edit.

[5] 'in a fault,' 3rd and sub.

Good discourse prevents drowsiness.

Hopef. With all my heart, said the other.

Chr. *Where shall we begin?*

Hopef. Where God began with us. But do you begin, if you please.

[6]'Chr. *I will sing you first this song.*'

'The Dreamers note.'

When Saints do sleepy grow, let them come hither,
And hear how these two Pilgrims talk together:
Yea, let them learn of them, in any wise,
Thus to keep ope their drowsie slumbring eyes.
Saints fellowship, if it be manag'd well,
Keeps them awake, and that in spite of hell.

'[8] They begin at the beginning of their conversion.'*

Chr. Then *Christian* began and said, *I will ask you a question. How came you to think at first of* '*so*'[2] *doing as you do now?*

Hopef. Do you mean, How came I at first to look after the good of my Soul?

Chr. *Yes, that is my meaning.*

Hopef. I continued a great while in the delight of those things which were seen and sold at our *fair;* things which, [9]as I believe now, would have (had I continued in them still) [1]drownded me in perdition and destruction.

Chr. *What things were they?*

Hopef. All the Treasures and Riches of the World. Also I delighted much in Rioting, Revelling, Drinking, Swearing, Lying, Uncleanness, Sabbath-breaking, and what not, that tended to destroy the Soul. But I found at last, by hearing and considering of things that are Divine, which indeed I heard of you, as also of beloved *Faithful*, that was put to death for his Faith and good-living in *Vanity-fair, That the end of these things is death.* And that

' Hopeful's life before conversion.[8]'*

Rom. 6. 21, 22, 23. Eph. 5. 6.

[6] 8th and sub. edits.
[7] 3rd and and sub.
[8] 2nd and sub. edits.
[9] 'which I,' 2nd and sub. edits.
[1] 'drowned,' 2nd and sub. edits.
[2] 'so,' 7th edit.: omitted in the 8th: altered in 9th and sub. to 'of doing what you do now?'

for these things sake, the wrath of God cometh upon the children of disobedience.

Chr. *And did you presently fall under the power of this conviction?*

Hopef. No, I was not willing presently to know the evil of sin, nor the damnation that follows upon the commission of it, but endeavoured, when my mind at first began to be shaken with the word, to shut mine eyes against the light thereof. '* Hopeful at first shuts his eyes against the light.[3]'

Chr. *But what was the cause of your carrying of it thus to the first workings of Gods blessed Spirit upon you?*

Hopef. The causes were, 1. I was ignorant that this was the work of God upon me. I never thought that, by awaknings for sin, God at first begins the conversion of a sinner. 2. Sin was yet very sweet to my flesh, and I was loth to leave it. 3. I could not tell how to part with mine old Companions, their presence and actions were so desirable unto me. 4. The hours in which convictions were upon me, were such troublesome and such heart-affrighting hours, that I could not bear, no not so much as the remembrance of them upon my heart. 'Reasons of his resisting of light.[3]'

Chr. *Then as it seems, sometimes you got rid of your trouble.*

Hopef. Yes verily, but it would come into my mind again, and then I should be as bad, nay worse, then I was before.

Chr. *Why, what was it that brought your sins to mind again.*

Hopef. Many things, as,

1. If I did but meet a good man in the Streets; or, 'When he had lost his sense of sin, what brought it again.[3]'

2. If I have heard any read in the Bible; or,

3. If mine Head did begin to Ake; or,

4. [4]'If' I were told that some of my Neighbours were sick; or,

[3] 2nd and sub. edits. [4] 'If,' 3rd and sub.

5. If I heard the Bell Toull for some that were dead; or,

6. If I thought of dying my self; or,

7. If I heard that suddain death happened to others.

8. But especially, when I thought of my self, that I must quickly come to Judgement.

Chr. *And could you at any time with ease get off the guilt of sin, when by any of these wayes it came upon you?*

Hopef. No, not [5]latterly, for then they got faster hold of my Conscience. And then, if I did but think of going back to sin (though my mind was turned against it) it would be double torment to me.

Chr. *And how did you* [6]*do then?*

'When he could no longer shake off his guilt by sinful courses, then he endeavours to mend.'

Hopef. I thought I must endeavour to mend my life, for else thought I, I am sure to be damned.

Chr. *And did you indeavour to mend?*

Hopef. Yes, and fled from, not only my sins, but sinful Company too; and betook me to Religious Duties, as Praying, Reading, weeping for Sin, speaking Truth to my Neighbours, etc. These things [8]I did, with many others, too much here to relate.

Chr. *And did you think your self well then?*

'Then he thought himself well.'

Hopef. Yes, for a while; but at the last my trouble came tumbling upon me again, and that over the neck of all my [9]Reformations.

Chr. *How came that about, since* [1]*you was now Reformed?*

'Reformation at last could not help, and why.'

Hopef. There were several things brought it upon me, especially such sayings as these; *All our*

[5] 'not heartily,' 2nd; 'not I,' 3rd and sub. edits.
[6] 'did you then,' 7th edit.
[7] 2nd and sub. edits.
[8] 'did I,' 3rd and sub. edits.
[9] 'Reformation,' 8th and sub. edits.
[1] 'you were,' 2nd and sub. edits.

righteousnesses are as filthy rags. By the works of the Law no man shall be justified. When you have done all things, say, We are unprofitable: with many more [2]the like. From whence I began to reason with my self thus: If *all* my righteousnesses are filthy rags, if by the deeds of the Law, *no* man can be justified; And if, when we have done *all*, we are yet unprofitable: Then tis but a folly to think of Heaven by the Law. I further thought thus: *If a Man runs an 100l. into the Shop-keepers debt, and after that shall pay for all that he shall fetch, [4]yet his old debt stands still in the Book uncrossed; for the which the Shop-keeper may sue him, and cast him into Prison till he shall pay the debt.

Isa. 64. 6. Gala. 2. 16. Luk. 17. 10.

'[3] *His being a debtor by the Law troubled him.*'

Chr. *Well, and how did you apply this to your self?*

Hopef. Why, I thought thus with my self: I have by my sins run a great way into Gods Book, and that my now reforming will not pay off that score; therefore I should think still under all my present amendments, But how shall I be freed from that damnation that I [5]have brought my self in danger of by my former transgressions?

Chr. *A very good application: but pray go on.*

Hope. Another thing that hath troubled me, even since my late amendments, is, that if I look narrowly into the best of what I do now, I still see sin, new sin, mixing it self with the best of that I do. So that now I am forced to conclude, that notwithstanding my former fond conceits of my self and duties, I have committed sin enough in one [6]duty

'[3] *His espying bad things in his best duties, troubled him.*'

[2] 'such like,' 2nd and sub. edits.
[3] 2nd and sub. edits.
[4] 'yet if his old debt stand still in the Book uncrossed, for that the Shopkeeper may sue him,' &c., 8th and sub.
[5] 'I brought,' 8th and sub. edits.
[6] The word 'duty' has been most unwarrantably changed for 'day' by modern editors.

to send me to Hell, though my former life had been faultless.

Chr. *And what did you do then?*

'This made him break his mind to Faithful, *who told him the way to be saved.'*

Hopef. Do! I could not tell what to do, till I brake my mind to *Faithful;* for he and I were well acquainted: And he told me, That unless I could obtain the righteousness of a man that never had sinned, neither mine own, nor all the righteousness of the World could save me.

Chr. *And did you think he spake true?*

Hopef. Had he told me so when I was pleased and satisfied with mine own amendments, I had called him Fool for his pains: but now, since I see my own infirmity, and the sin that cleaves to my best performance, I have been forced to be of his opinion.

Chr. *But did you think, when at first he suggested it to you, that there was such a man to be found, of whom it might justly be said, That he never committed sin?*

'At which he started at present.'

Hopef. I must confess the words at first sounded strangely, but after a little more talk and company with him, I had full conviction about it.

Chr. *And did you ask him what man this was, and how you must be justified by him?*

Heb. 10. Rom 4. Col. 1. 1 Pet. 1. *'* A more particular discovery of the way to be saved.'*

Hope. Yes, and he told me it was the Lord Jesus, that dwelleth on the right hand of the most High: And thus, said he, you must be justified by him, even by trusting to what he hath done by himself in the days of his flesh, and suffered when he did hang on the Tree. I asked him further, How that mans righteousness could be of that efficacy, to justifie another before God? And he told me, He was the mighty God, and did what he did, and died the death also, not for himself, but for [8]us; to whom his doings, and the worthiness of them should be imputed, if I believed on him.

[7] 2nd and sub. edits. [8] 'for me,' 2nd and sub. edits.

Chr. *And what did you do then?*

Hope. I made my objections against my believing, for that I thought he was not willing to save me. [9] *He doubts of acceptation.*

Chr. *And what said* Faithful *to you then?*

Hopef. He bid me go to him and see: Then I said, It was presumption: [1]but he said, No; for I was invited to come. Then he gave me a Book of *Jesus* his inditing, to incourage me the more freely to come: And he said concerning that Book, That every jot and tittle there of stood firmer then Heaven and earth. Then I asked him, What I must do when I came? and he told me, I must entreat upon my knees with all my heart and soul, the Father to reveal him to me. Then I asked him further, How I must make my supplication to him? And he said, Go, and thou shalt find him upon a mercy-seat, where he sits all the year long, to give pardon and forgiveness to them that come. I told him that I knew not what to say when I came: *and he bid me say to this effect, *God be merciful to me a sinner, and make me to know and believe in Jesus Christ; for I see that if his righteousness had not been, or I have not faith in that righteousness, I am utterly cast away: Lord, I have heard that thou art a merciful God, and hast ordained that thy Son Jesus Christ should be the Saviour of the World; and moreover, that thou art willing to bestow him upon such a poor sinner as I am, (and I am a sinner indeed) Lord take therefore this opportunity, and magnifie thy grace in the Salvation of my soul, through thy Son Jesus Christ,* Amen.

Mat. 11. 28. [*] *He is better instructed.*[9]

Matt. 24. 35.

Ps. 95. 6. Dan. 6. 10. Jer. 29. 12, 13.

Ex. 25. 22. Lev. 16. 2. [2] Nu. 7. 89. [3] Heb. 4. 6.

[*] *He is bid to pray.*

Chr. *And did you do as you were bidden?*

Hopef. Yes; over, and over, and over. [9] *He prays*

[9] 2nd and sub. edits.

[1] 'but,' omitted in 2nd and sub. edits.

[2] 1st edit., Numb. 7. 89; altered in sub. edits. to Numb. 7. 8. The first is right.

[3] All the edits. agree in this quotation, but it should be Heb. 4. 16.

Chr. *And did the Father reveal* [5]*his Son to you?*

Hopef. Not at the first, nor second, nor third, nor fourth, nor fifth, no, nor at the sixth time neither.

Chr. *What did you do then?*

Hopef. What! why I could not tell what to do.

Chr. *Had you not thoughts of leaving off praying?*

'[3] *He thought to leave off praying.*'

Hopef. Yes, an hundred times, twice told.

Chr. *And what was the reason you did not?*

'* *He durst not leave of praying, and why.*'

Hopef. I believed that that was true which had been told me, *to wit*, That without the righteousness of this Christ, all the World could not save me: And therefore thought I with my self, If I leave off, I die; and I can but die at the Throne of Grace. Habb. 2. 3. And withall, this came into my mind, *If it tarry, wait for it, because it will surely come, and will not tarry.* So I continued Praying untill the Father shewed me his Son.

Chr. *And how was he revealed unto you?*

Eph. 1. 18, 19. *Hopef.* I did *not* see him with my bodily eyes, but with the eyes of mine understanding; and thus

'[4] *Christ is revealed to him, and how.*' it was. One day I was very sad, I think [6]sader then at any one time in my life; and this sadness was through a fresh sight of the greatness and vileness of my sins: And as I was then looking for nothing but *Hell*, and the everlasting damnation of my Soul, suddenly, as I thought, I saw the Lord Jesus look down from Heaven upon me, and saying, Acts 16. 30, 31. *Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.*

But I replyed, Lord, I am a great, a very great 2 Cor. 12. 9. sinner; and he answered, *My grace is sufficient for thee.* Then I said, But Lord, what is believing? Joh. 6. 35. And then I saw from that saying, [*He that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst*] That believing and coming was all one, and that he that came, that is, ran out in

[4] 2nd and sub. edits.
[5] 'the Son,' 10th edit.
[6] 'sadder,' 2nd and sub.

his heart and affections after salvation by Christ, he indeed believed in Christ. Then the water stood in mine eyes, and I asked further, But Lord, may such a great sinner as I am, be indeed accepted of thee, and be saved by thee? And I heard him say, *And him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out.* [8] Joh. 6. 37. Then I said, But how, Lord, must I consider of thee in my coming to thee, that my faith may be placed aright upon thee? Then he said, *Christ Jesus came into the World to save sinners. He is the end of the Law for righteousness to every one that believes. He died for our sins, and rose again for our justification: He loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood: He is Mediator* between God and us. *He ever liveth to make intercession for us.* From all which I gathered, that I must look for righteousness in his person, and for satisfaction for my sins by his blood; that what he did in obedience to his Fathers Law, and in submitting to the penalty thereof, was not for himself, but for him that will accept it for his Salvation, and be thankful. And now was my heart full of joy, mine eyes full of tears, and mine affections running over with love to the Name, People, and Ways of Jesus Christ. 1 Tim. 1. 15. Rom. 10. 4. chap. 4. Heb. 7. 24, 25.

Chr. *This was a Revelation of Christ to your soul indeed: But tell me particularly what effect this had upon your spirit.*

Hopef. It made me see that all the World, notwithstanding all the righteousness thereof, is in a state of condemnation. It made me see that God the Father, though he be just, can justly justifie the coming sinner: It made me greatly ashamed of the vileness of my former life, and confounded me with the [9]sence of mine own Ignorance; for there never came thought into mine heart before

[8] 1st edit., John 6. 36; 2nd and sub. edits., 6. 16; it should be 6. 37.

[9] 'sense,' 2nd and sub. edits.

now, that shewed me so the beauty of Jesus Christ. It made me love a holy life, and long to do something for the Honour and Glory of the name of the Lord Jesus. Yea I thought, that had I now a thousand gallons of blood in my body, I could spill it all for the sake of the Lord Jesus.

I then[9] saw in my Dream, that *Hopeful* looked back and saw *Ignorance*, whom they had left behind, coming after. *Look*, said he to *Christian, how far yonder Youngster loitereth behind.*

Chr. Ay, Ay, I see him; he careth not for our Company.

Hopef. *But I tro, it would not have hurt him, had he kept pace with us hitherto.*

Chr. That's true, but I warrant you he thinketh otherwise.

Young Ignorance *comes up again.* Hope. *That I think he doth, but however let us tarry for him.* So they did.

Their talk. Then *Christian* said to him, *Come away man, why do you stay so behind?*

Igno. I take my pleasure in walking alone, even more a great deal then in Company, unless I like it the better.

Then said *Christian* to *Hopeful* (but softly) *Did I not tell you, he cared not for our Company: But however,* [1]' said he,' *come up, and let us talk away the time in this solitary place.* Then directing his Speech to *Ignorance,* he said, *Come, how do you? how stands it between God and your Soul now?*

'[2] Ignorance's *hope, and the ground of it.*' *Ignor.* I hope well, for I am always full of good motions, that come into my mind to comfort me as I walk.

Chr. *What good motions? pray tell us.*

Ignor. Why, I think of God and Heaven.

[9] 'I saw then,' 2nd and sub. edits.

[1] 3rd and sub. edits. except the 7th.

[2] 2nd edit. The 3rd and sub. edits. except the 7th, have also a reference to Prov. 28. 29, evidently a typographical error.

Chr. *So do the Devils and damned Souls.*

Ignor. But I think of them, and desire them.

Chr. *So do many that are never like to come there:* The Soul of the Sluggard desires and hath nothing.[3] 'Pr. 13. 4.'

Ignor. But I think of them, and leave all for them.

Chr. *That I doubt, for leaving of all is an hard matter, yea a harder matter then many are aware of. But why, or by what, art thou perswaded that thou hast left all for God and Heaven?*

Ignor. My heart tells me so.

Chr. *The wise man sayes,* He that trusts his own heart is a fool. Pr. 28. 26.[5]

Ignor. This is spoken of an evil heart, but mine is a good one.

Chr. *But how dost thou prove that?*

Ignor. It comforts me in [6]the hopes of Heaven.

Chr. *That may be, through its deceitfulness, for a mans heart may minister comfort to him in the hopes of that thing, for which he yet*[7] *has no ground to hope.*

Ignor. But my heart and life agree together, and therefore my hope is well grounded.

Chr. *Who told thee that thy heart and life* [8]*agrees together?*

Ignor. My heart tells me so.

Chr. *Ask my Fellow if I be a Thief. Thy heart tells thee so! Except the word of God beareth witness in this matter, other Testimony is of no value.*

Ignor. But is it not a good heart that has good thoughts? And is not that a good life that is according to Gods Commandments?

Chr. *Yes, That is a good heart that hath good*

[3] The reference here in the 3rd and 8th edits. to Prov. 28. 29, is wrong; it ought to be Prov. 13. 4.

[5] 1st Pr. 28. 25; 2nd to 6th, Prov. 28, 29; omitted in 7th; Pr. 28. 29, in 8th and sub. It should have been Pr. 28. 26.

[6] 'in hopes,' 2nd and sub. edits.

[7] 'yet he has,' 7th edition.

[8] 'agree,' 2nd and sub. edits.

thoughts, and that is a good life that is according to Gods Commandments: But it is one thing indeed to have these, and another thing only to think so.

Ignor. Pray what count you good thoughts, and a life according to Gods Commandments?

Chr. *There are good thoughts of divers kinds, some respecting our selves, some God, some Christ, and some other things.*

[9] '*What are good thoughts.*' *Ignor.* What be good thoughts respecting our selves?

Chr. *Such as agree with the Word of God.*

Ignor. When does our thoughts of our selves agree with the Word of God?

Chr. *When we pass the same Judgement upon our selves which the Word passes: To explain my self. The Word of God saith of persons in a natural condition,* There is none Righteous, there is none that doth good. *It saith also,* That every imagination of the heart of man is only evil, and that continually. *And again,* The imagination of mans heart is evil from his Youth. *Now then, when we think thus of our selves, having sense thereof, then are our thoughts good ones, because according to the Word of God.*

Rom. 3.

[1] Gen. 6. 5.

Ignor. I will never believe that my heart is thus bad.

Chr. *Therefore thou never hadst one good thought concerning thy self in thy life. But let me go on: As the Word passeth a Judgement upon our* HEART, *so it passeth a Judgement upon our WAYS; and when* [2]*our thoughts of our HEARTS and WAYS agree with the Judgment which the Word giveth of both, then are both good, because agreeing thereto.*

Ignor. Make out your meaning.

[9] 2nd and sub. edits.

[1] 1st to 7th edits. Gen. 6. 8; the 8th and sub. ones, Gen. 6. 2.

[2] This is altered in *all* the modern editions to 'when the thoughts.' What could induce any editor so to alter the text and pervert its meaning?

Chr. *Why, the Word of God saith, That mans ways are crooked ways, not good, but perverse: It saith, They are naturally out of the good way, that they have not known it. Now when a man thus thinketh of his ways, I say when he doth sensibly, and with heart-humiliation thus think, then hath he good thoughts of his own ways, because his thoughts now agree with the judgment of the Word of God.* Psal. 125. 5. Prov. 2. 15. Rom. 3.

Ignor. What are good thoughts concerning God?

Chr. *Even (as I have said concerning our selves) when our thoughts of God do agree with what the Word saith of him. And that is, when we think of his Being and Attributes as the Word hath taught: Of which I cannot now discourse at large. But to speak of him with reference to us, Then we have right thoughts of God, when we think that he knows us better than we know our selves, and can see sin in us, when and where we can see none in our selves; when we think he knows our in-most thoughts, and that our heart with all its depths is alwayes open unto his eyes: Also when we think that all our Righteousness stinks in his Nostrils, and that therefore he cannot abide to see us stand before him in any confidence even* [3]*of all our best performances.*

Ignor. Do you think that I am such a fool, as to think God can see no further than I? or that I would come to God in the best of my performances?

Chr. *Why, how dost thou think in this matter?*

Ignor. Why, to be short, I think I must believe in Christ for Justification.

Chr. *How! think thou must believe in Christ, when thou seest not thy need of him! Thou neither seest thy original, or actual infirmities, but hast such an opinion of thy self, and of what thou doest, as plainly renders thee to be one that did never see a necessity of Christs personal righteousness to justifie thee before God: How then dost thou say, I believe in Christ?*

[3] '*even in all*,' 9th and sub. edits.

Ignor. I believe well enough for all that.

Chr. *How doest thou believe?*

[4] '*The Faith of* Ignorance.' *Ignor.* I believe that Christ died for sinners, and that I shall be justified before God from the curse, through his gracious acceptance of my obedience to his Law: Or thus, Christ makes my Duties that are Religious, acceptable to his Father by virtue of his Merits; and so shall I be justified.

Chr. *Let me give an answer to this confession of thy faith.*

1. *Thou believest with a* Fantastical *Faith, for this faith is no where described in the Word.*

2. *Thou believest with a* False *Faith, because it taketh Justification from the personal righteousness of Christ, and applies it to thy own.*

3. *This faith maketh not Christ a Justifier of thy person, but of thy actions; and of thy person for thy actions sake, which is false.*

4. *Therefore this faith is deceitful, even such as will leave thee under wrath, in the day of God Almighty. For true Justifying Faith puts the soul (as sensible of its lost condition by the Law) upon flying for refuge unto Christs righteousness: (Which righteousness of* his, *is not an act of grace, by which he maketh for Justification* thy *obedience accepted with God, but* his *personal obedience to the Law in doing and suffering for us, what that required at our hands) This righteousness, I say, true faith accepteth, under the skirt of which, the soul being shrouded, and by it presented as spotless before God, it is accepted, and acquit from condemnation.*

Ignor. What! would you have us trust to what Christ in his own person has done without us! This conceit would loosen the reines of our lust, and tollerate us to live as we list. For what matter how we live, if we may be Justified by Christs personal righteousness from all, when we believe it?

[4] 2nd and sub. edits.

Chr. Ignorance *is thy name, and as thy name is, so art thou; even this thy answer demonstrateth what I say.* Ignorant *thou art of what Justifying righteousness is, and as ignorant how to secure thy Soul through the faith of it, from the heavy wrath of God. Yea, thou also art ignorant of the true effects of saving faith in this righteousness of Christ, which is, to bow and win over the heart to God in Christ, to love his Name, his Word, Ways, and People; and not as thou ignorantly imaginest.*

Hop. Ask him if ever he had Christ revealed to him from Heaven?

Ignor. *What! You are a man for revelations! I believe that what both you, and all the rest of you say about that matter, is but the fruit of distracted braines.* [5] 'Ignorance jangles with them.'

Hop. Why man! Christ is so hid in God from the natural apprehensions of all [6]flesh, that he cannot by any man be savingly known, unless God the Father reveals him to them.

Ignor. *That is your faith, but not mine; yet mine I doubt not, is as good as yours: Though I have not in my head so many whimzies as you.* 'He speaks reproachfully of what he knows not.'[5]

Chr. Give me leave to put in a word: You ought not so slightly to speak of this matter: for this I will boldly affirm, (even as my good Companion hath done) that no man can know Jesus Christ but by the Revelation of the Father: yea, and faith too, by which the soul layeth hold upon Christ (if it be right) must be wrought by the exceeding greatness of his mighty power; the working of which faith, I perceive, poor *Ignorance*, thou art ignorant of. Be awakened then, see thine own wretchedness, and flie to the Lord Jesus; and by [7] Mat. 11. 27. [8] 1 Cor. 12. 3. Eph. 1. 18, 19.

[5] 2nd and sub. edits.

[6] 'of the flesh,' 3rd and sub. edits.

[7] All the editions refer to Mat. 11. 28; it must have been a typographical error, followed in sub. edits.

[8] 3rd and sub. edits. refer to 1 Cor. 11. 3.

his righteousness, which is the righteousness of God, (for he himself is God) thou shalt be delivered from condemnation.

The talk broke up. Igno. *You go so fast, I cannot keep pace with you; do you go on before, I must stay awhile behind.*

'[1] Then they said,'

Well Ignorance, *wilt thou yet foolish be,*
To slight good Counsel, ten times given thee?
And if thou yet refuse it, thou shalt know
Ere long the evil of thy doing so:
Remember man in time, stoop, do not fear,
Good Counsel taken well, [9]*saves; therefore hear:*
But if thou yet shalt slight it, thou wilt be
The loser (Ignorance) I'le warrant thee.

'[1] Then *Christian* addressed thus himself to his fellow.'

Chr. Well, come my good *Hopeful*, I perceive that thou and I must walk by our selves again.

So I saw in my Dream, that they went on a pace before, and *Ignorance* he came hobling after. Then said *Christian* to his companion, *It pities me much for this poor man, it will certainly go ill with him at last.*

Hope. Alas, there are abundance in our Town in his condition; whole Families, yea, whole Streets, (and that of Pilgrims too) and if there be so many in our parts, how many think you, must there be in the place where he was born?

Chr. *Indeed the Word saith,* He hath blinded their eyes, lest they should see, &c. *But now we are by our selves, what do you think of such men? Have they at no time, think you, convictions of sin, and so consequently fears that their state is dangerous?*

[9] '*secures*,' 7th edit. [1] 2nd and sub. edits.

Hopef. Nay, do you answer that question your self, for you are the elder man.

Chr. *Then I say sometimes (as I think) they may, but they being naturally ignorant, understand not that such convictions tend to their good; and therefore they do desperately seek to stifle them, and presumptuously continue to flatter themselves in the way of their own hearts.*

Hopef. I do believe as you say, that fear tends much to Mens good, and to make them right, at their beginning to go on Pilgrimage. *The good use of fear.*

Chr. *Without all doubt in doth, if it be right: for so says the word,* The fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom.[2] Job. 28. 28. Ps. 111. 10. Pro. 1. 7.[4] ch. 9, 10.

Hopef. How will you describe right fear?

Chr. *True, or right fear, is discovered by three things.* *Right fear.*

1. By its rise. It is caused by saving convictions for sin.

2. It driveth the soul to lay fast hold of Christ for Salvation.

3. It begetteth and continueth in the soul a great reverence of God, his word, and ways, keeping it tender, and making it afraid to turn from them, to the right hand, or to the left, to any thing that may dishonour God, break its peace, grieve the Spirit, or cause the Enemy to speak reproachfully.

Hopef. Well said, I believe you have said the truth. Are we now almost got past the Inchanted ground?

Chr. *Why, are you weary of this discourse?*

Hopef. No verily, but that I would know where we are.

Chr. *We have not now above two miles further to go thereon. But let us return to our matter. Now* [3] '* *Why ignorant per-*

[2] All the editions refer to Job. 28. 29; there being only twenty-eight verses in the chapter.

[3] 2nd and sub. edits.

[4] All the editions quote Pro. 17. it should be 1. ver. 7.

'sons stifle convictions.' '*1. In general.'[4] *the Ignorant know not that such convictions that tend to put them in fear, are for their good, and therefore they seek to stifle them.*

Hopef. How do they seek to stifle them?

'† 2. In particular.'[4] *Chr.* 1. They think that those fears are wrought by the Devil (though indeed they are wrought of God) and thinking so, they resist them, as things that directly tend to their overthrow. 2. They also think that these fears tend to the spoiling of their faith, (when alas for them, poor men that they are! they have none at all) and therefore they harden their hearts against them. 3. They presume they ought not to fear, and therefore, in despite of them, wax presumptuously confident. 4. They see that these fears tend to take away from them their pitiful old self-holiness, and therefore they resist them with all their might.

Hope. I know something of this my self; for before I knew my self it was so with me.

Chr. *Well, we will leave at this time our Neighbour* Ignorance *by himself, and fall upon another profitable question.*

Hopef. With all my heart, but you shall still begin.

Talk about one Temporary. *Chr. Well then, did you not know about ten years ago, one* Temporary *in your parts, who was a forward man in Religion then?*

Where he dwelt. *Hope.* Know him! Yes, he dwelt in *Graceless*, a Town about two miles off of *Honesty*, and he dwelt next door to one *Turn-back.*

Chr. *Right, he dwelt under the same roof with him.*

'* He was towardly once.' *Well, that man was much awakened once; I believe that then he had some sight of his sins, and of the wages that was due thereto.*

Hope. I am of your mind, for (my House not being above three miles from him) he would oft times come to me, and that with many tears. Truly

[4] 2nd and sub. edits.

I pitied the man, and was not altogether without hope of him; but one may see it is not every one that cries, *Lord, Lord.*

Chr. *He told me once, That he was resolved to go on Pilgrimage as we* [5]*do now; but all of a sudden he grew acquainted with one* Save-self, *and then he became a stranger to me.*

Hope. Now since we are talking about him, let us a little enquire into the reason of the suddain backsliding of him and such others.

Chr. *It may be very profitable, but do you begin.*

Hope. Well then, there are in my judgement four reasons for it.

1. Though the Consciences of such men are awakened, yet their minds are not changed: therefore when the power of guilt weareth away, that which [7]provoked them to be Religious ceaseth. Wherefore they naturally turn to their own course again: even as we see the Dog that is sick of what he hath eaten, so long as his sickness prevails, he vomits and casts up all; not that he doth this of a free mind (if we may say a Dog has a mind) but because it troubleth his Stomach; but now when his sickness is over, and so his Stomach eased, his desires being not at all alienate from his vomit, he turns him about and licks up all. And so it is true which is written, *The Dog is turned to his own vomit again.* This I say being hot for heaven, by virtue only of the sense and fear of the torments of Hell, as their sense of Hell, and the fears of damnation chills and cools, so their desires for Heaven and Salvation cool also. So then it comes to pass, that when their guilt and fear is gone, their desires for Heaven and Happiness die; and they return to their course again.

[6] *'Reasons why towardly ones go back.'*

2 Pet. 2. 22.

[5] 'as we go now,' 2nd and sub. edits.

[6] 2nd and sub. edits.

[7] 'provoketh,' 7th, 9th, 1684, and 10th edits.

2ly. Another reason is, they have slavish fears that do over-master them. I speak now of the
Prov. 29. 25. fears that they have of men: *For the fear of men bringeth a snare.* So then, though they seem to be hot for Heaven, so long as the flames of Hell are about their ears, yet when that terrour is a little over, they betake themselves to second thoughts; namely, that 'tis good to be wise, and not to run (for they know not what) the hazard of loosing all; or at least, of bringing themselves into unavoidable and un-necessary troubles: and so they fall in with the world again.

3ly. The shame that attends Religion, lies also as a block in their way; they are proud and haughty, and Religion in their eye is low and contemptible: Therefore when they have lost their sense of Hell and wrath to come, they return again to their former course.

4ly. Guilt, and to meditate terrour, are grievous to them, they like not to see their misery before they come into it. Though perhaps the sight of it first, if they loved that sight, might make them flie whither the righteous flie and are safe; but because they do, as I hinted before, even shun the thoughts of guilt and terrour, therefore, when once they are rid of their awakenings about the terrors and wrath of God, they harden their hearts gladly, and chuse such ways as will harden them more and more.

Chr. *You are pretty near the business, for the bottom of all is, for want of a change in their mind and will. And therefore they are but like the Fellon that standeth before the Judge, he quakes and trembles, and seems to repent most heartily; but the bottom of all is, the fear of the Halter,* [8]*not of any detestation of the offence; as is evident, because, let but this man have his liberty, and he will be a Thief, and so a Rogue*

[8] 'not that he hath any,' 8th and sub. edits.

still; whereas, if his mind was changed, he would be otherwise.

Hope. Now I have shewed you the reasons of their going back, do you shew me the manner thereof.

Chr. *So I will willingly.*

How the Apostate goes back.

1. They draw off their thoughts all that they may, from the remembrance of God, Death, and Judgement to come.

2. Then they cast off by degrees private Duties, as Closet-Prayer, curbing their lusts, watching, sorrow for sin, and the like.

3. Then they shun the company of lively and warm Christians.

4. After that, they grow cold to publick Duty, as Hearing, Reading, Godly Conference, and the like.

5. Then they begin to pick holes, as we say, in the Coats of some of the Godly, and that devilishly; that they may have a seeming colour to throw Religion (for the sake of some infirmity they have spied in them) behind their backs.

6. Then they begin to adhere to, and associate themselves with carnal loose and wanton men.

7. Then they give way to carnal and wanton discourses in secret; and glad are they if they can see such things in any that are counted honest, that they may the more boldly do it through their example.

8. After this, they begin to play with little sins openly.

9. And then, being hardened, they shew themselves as they are. Thus being lanched again into the gulf of misery, unless a Miracle of Grace prevent it, they everlastingly perish in their own deceivings.

Now I saw in my Dream, that by this time the Pilgrims were got over the Inchanted Ground, and entering in the Countrey of *Beulah*, whose Air was

Isa. 62. 4. Cant. 2. 10, 11, 12.

very sweet and pleasant, the way lying directly through it, they solaced themselves there for a season. Yea, here they heard continually the singing of Birds, and saw every day the flowers appear in the earth: and heard the voice of the Turtle in the Land. In this Countrey the Sun shineth night and day; wherefore this was beyond the Valley of the *shadow of death*, and also out of the reach of Giant *Despair;* neither could they from this place so much as see *Doubting-Castle*. Here they were within sight of the City they were going to: also here met them some of the Inhabitants thereof.

Angels. For in this Land the shining Ones commonly walked, because it was upon the Borders of Heaven. In this Land also the contract between the Bride and the Bridgroom was renewed; Yea here, *as*

Isa. 62. 5. *the Bridegroom rejoyceth over the Bride, so did their God rejoyce over them.* Here they had no want of

Ver. 8. Corn and Wine; for in this place [1]they met with abundance of what they had sought [2]'for' in all their Pilgrimage. Here they heard voices from out of the City, loud voices; saying, *Say ye to the*

Ver. 11. *daughter of* Zion, *Behold thy Salvation cometh, behold, his reward is with him.* Here all the Inhabi-

Ver. 12. tants of the Countrey called them, *The holy People, The redeemed of the Lord, Sought out*, etc.

Now as they walked in this Land, they had more rejoicing then in parts more remote from the Kingdom to which they were bound; and drawing near to the City, they had yet a more perfect view thereof. It was builded of Pearls and precious Stones, also the Street thereof was paved with Gold, so that by reason of the natural glory of the City, and the reflection of the Sun-beams upon it, *Christian*, with desire fell sick, *Hopeful* also had a fit or two of the same Disease: Wherefore here

[1] 'they met abundance,' 10th edit.

[2] 2nd and sub. edits.

they lay by it a while, crying out because of their pangs, *If you see my Beloved, tell him that I am sick of love.*

But being a little strengthened, and better able to bear their sickness, they walked on their way, and came yet nearer and nearer, where were Orchards, Vineyards and Gardens, and their Gates opened into the High-way. Now as they came up to these places, behold the Gardener stood in the way; to whom the Pilgrims said, Whose goodly Vineyards and Gardens are these? He answered, They Deut. 23. 24. are the Kings, and are planted here for his own delights, and also for the solace of Pilgrims. So the Gardiner had them into the Vineyards, and bid them refresh themselves with Dainties; He also shewed them *there* the Kings walks, and the *Arbors* where he delighted to be: And here they tarried and slept.

Now I beheld in my Dream, that they talked more in their sleep at this time, then ever they did in all their Journey; and being in a muse thereabout, the Gardiner said even to me, Wherefore musest thou at the matter? It is the nature of the fruit of the Grapes of these Vineyards to go down so sweetly, as to cause the lips of them that are asleep to speak.

So I saw that when they awoke, they addressed themselves to go up to the City. But, as I said, the reflections of the Sun upon the City (for the Rev. 21. 18. City was pure Gold) was so extreamly glorious, that they could not, as yet, with open face behold 2 Cor. 3. 18.[4] it, but through an *Instrument* made for that purpose. So I saw, that as they went on, there met them two men, in Raiment that [5]shone like Gold, also their faces shone as the light.

[4] quoted as 1 Cor. 3. 18, in all the editions.

[5] 'that shined like Gold,' 7th edition.

These men asked the Pilgrims whence they came? and they told them; they also asked them, Where they had lodg'd, what difficulties, and dangers, what comforts and pleasures they had met in the way? and they told them. Then said the men that met them, You have but two difficulties more to meet with, and then you are in the City.

Christian then and his Companion asked the men to go along with them, so they told them they would; but, said they, you must obtain it by your own faith. So I saw in my Dream that they went on together till they came [6]within sight of the Gate.

Death. Now I further saw that betwixt them and the Gate was a River, but there was no Bridge to go over, the River was very deep; at the sight therefore of this River, the Pilgrims were much [7]stounded, but the men that went with them, said, You must go through, or you cannot come at the Gate.

Death is not welcome to nature, though by it we pass out of this World into Glory. 1 Cor. 15. 51, 52. The Pilgrims then, began to enquire if there was no other way to the Gate; to which they answered, Yes, but there hath not any, save two, to wit, *Enoch* and *Elijah*, been permitted to tread that path, since the foundation of the World, nor shall, untill the last Trumpet shall sound. The Pilgrims then, especially *Christian*, began to dispond in his mind, and looked this way and that, but no way could be found by them, by which they might escape the River. Then they asked the men, if the Waters were all of a depth? They said, No; yet

Angels help us not comfortably through death. they could not help them in that Case, for said they: *You shall find it deeper or shallower, as you believe in the King of the place.*

They then addressed themselves to the Water; and entring, *Christian* began to sink, and crying

[6] 'came in sight,' 2nd and sub. edits.

[7] 'much stun'd,' 2nd and sub. edits.

out to his good friend *Hopeful;* he said, I sink in deep Waters, the Billows go over my head, all his Waves go over me, *Selah.*

Then said the other, Be of good chear, my Brother, I feel the bottom, and it is good. Then said *Christian*, Ah my friend, the sorrows of death have compassed me about, I shall not see the Land that flows with Milk and Honey. And with that, a great darkness and horror fell upon *Christian*, so that he could not see before him; also here he in great measure lost his senses, so that he could neither remember nor orderly talk of any of those sweet refreshments that he had met with in the way of his Pilgrimage. But all the words that he spake, still tended to discover that he had horror of mind, and [8]hearty fears that he should die in that River, and never obtain entrance in at the Gate: here also, as they that stood by, perceived, he was much in the troublesome thoughts of the sins that he had committed, both since and before he began to be a Pilgrim. 'Twas also observed, that he was troubled with apparitions of Hobgoblins and Evil Spirits. For ever and anon he would intimate so much by words. *Hopeful* therefore here had much adoe to keep his Brothers head above water, yea sometimes he would be quite gone down, and then ere a while he would rise up again half dead. *Hopeful* also would endeavour to comfort him, saying, Brother, I see the Gate, and men standing [9]by it to receive us. But *Christian* would answer: 'Tis you, 'tis you they wait for, you have been *Hopeful* ever since I knew you; and so have you, said he to *Christian.* Ah Brother, said he, surely if I was right, he would now arise to help me; but for my sins he hath brought me into the snare, and hath left me. Then said *Hopeful*, My Brother, you have quite forgot

Christians *conflict at the hour of death*

[8] 'heart fears,' 8th and sub. edits.

[9] 'by to receive us,' 8th and sub. edits.

Psal. 73. 4, 5.[1] the Text, where its said of the wicked, *There is no band in their death, but their strength is firm, they are not troubled as other men, neither are they plagued like other men.* These troubles and distresses that you go through in these Waters, are no sign that God hath forsaken you, but are sent to try you, whether you will call to mind that which heretofore you have received of his goodness, and live upon him in your distresses.

Christian delivered from his tears in death. Then I saw in my Dream, that *Christian* was [2]as in a muse a while; To whom also *Hopeful* added this word, *Be of good chear, Jesus Christ maketh thee whole:* And with that, *Christian* brake out with a loud voice, Oh I see him again! and he tells me,

Isa. 43. 2.[3] *When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee, and through the Rivers, they shall not overflow thee.* Then they both took courage, and the enemy was after that as still as a stone, untill they were gone over. *Christian* therefore presently found ground to stand upon; and so it followed that the rest of the River was but shallow. Thus they got over. Now upon the bank of the River, on the other side, they saw the two shining men again, who there waited for them. Wherefore being come

The Angels do wait for them so soon as they are passed out of this world. [4]up out of the River, they saluted them saying, *We are ministring Spirits, sent forth to minister for those that shall be Heirs of Salvation.* Thus they went along towards the Gate, now you must note that the City stood upon a mighty hill, but the Pilgrims went up that hill *with ease*, because they had these two men to lead them up by the Arms; also they

They have put off mortality. had left their *Mortal* Garments behind them in the River; for though they went in with them, they

[1] To the 7th edit. this reference is to Psal. 33. 45; after that the reference is omitted, probably from finding that it was not the right Psalm.

[2] 'was in a muse,' 2nd and sub. edits.

[3] Quoted Isa. 40. 2. in all the edits.

[4] 'up,' omitted in 2nd and sub. edits.

came out without them. They therefore went up here with much agility and speed, though the foundation upon which the City was framed was higher than the Clouds. They therefore went up through the Regions of the Air, sweetly talking as they went, being comforted, because they safely got over the River, and had such glorious Companions to attend them.

The talk they had with the shining Ones, was about the Glory of the place, who told them, that the beauty, and glory of it was inexpressible. There, said they, is the Mount *Sion*, the Heavenly *Jerusalem*, the innumerable company of Angels, and the Spirits of Just men made perfect: You are going now, said they, to the Paradice of God, wherein you shall see the Tree of Life, and eat of the never-fading fruits thereof: And when you come there you shall have white Robes given you, and your walk and talk shall be every day with the King, even all the days of Eternity. There you shall not see again, such things as you saw when you were in the lower Region upon the Earth, to wit, sorrow, sickness, affliction, and death, *for the former things are passed away*. You are going now to *Abraham*, to *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and to the Prophets; men that God hath taken away from the evil to come, and that are now resting upon their Beds, each one walking in his righteousness. The men then asked, What must we do in the holy place? To whom it was answered, You must there receive the [7]comfort of all your toil, and have joy for all your sorrow; you must reap what you have sown, even the fruit of all your Prayers and Tears, and

Heb. 12. 22, 23, 24. Rev. 2. 7. Rev. 3. 4.

[5] Rev. 21. 1.

Isa. 57. 1. 2. Isa. 65. 14.[6]

Gal. 6. 7.

[5] The 1st edit. refers to Rev. 21. 1; the 2nd to the 7th to 22. 1; and the sub. edits. to Rev. 22. 7; but probably Rev. 22. ver. 4 and 5 were intended.

[6] 'Isa. 65. 14,' in all the edits. It should be ver. 17.

[7] 'comforts,' 8th and sub. edits.



Now, now look how the holy Pilgrims ride,
Clouds are their Chariots, Angels are their Guide:
Who would not here for him all Hazards run,
That thus provides for his when this World's done?

Copied from the 8th edition, 1632.

[In the 13th and many subsequent editions this cut was substituted by one representing the pilgrims in distress, wading through the river; yet the above verse was continued under it!]

sufferings for the King by the way. In that place you must wear Crowns of Gold, and enjoy the perpetual sight and Visions of the *Holy One, for there you shall see him as he is.* 1 Joh. 3. 2. There also you shall serve him continually with praise, with shouting and thanksgiving, whom you desired to serve in the World, though with much difficulty, because of the infirmity of your flesh. There your eyes shall be delighted with seeing, and your ears with hearing, the pleasant voice of the mighty One. There you shall enjoy your friends again, that are[8] got thither before you; and there you shall with joy receive, even every one that follows into the Holy Place after you. There also you shall be cloathed with Glory and Majesty, and put into an equipage fit to ride out with the King of Glory. When he shall come with sound of Trumpet in the Clouds, as upon the wings of the Wind, you shall come with him; and when he shall sit upon the Throne of Judgement, you shall sit by him; yea, and when he shall pass Sentence upon all the workers of Iniquity, let them be Angels or Men, you also shall have a voice in that Judgement, because they were his and your Enemies. Also when he shall again return to the City, you shall go too, with sound of Trumpet, and be ever with him. 1 Thess. 4. 13, 14, 15, 16. Jude 14. Da. 7. 9, 10. 1Cor. 6. 2, 3.

Now while they were thus drawing towards the Gate, behold a company of the Heavenly Host came out to meet them: To whom it was said, by the other two shining Ones, These are the men that have loved our Lord, when they were in the World; and that have left all for his holy Name, and he hath sent us to fetch them, and we have brought them thus far on their desired Journey; that they may go in and look their Redeemer in the face with joy. Then the Heavenly Host gave a great shout,

[8] 'are gone,' 2nd and sub.

Revel. 19. saying, *Blessed are they that are called to the Marriage supper of the Lamb:*

[1] 'There came out also at this time to meet them, 'several of the Kings Trumpeters, cloathed in white 'and shining Rayment, who with melodious noises, 'and loud, made even the Heavens to eccho with 'their sound. These Trumpeters saluted *Christian* 'and his Fellow with ten thousand welcomes from 'the world: And this they did with shouting, and 'sound of Trumpet.

'This done, they compassed them round on every 'side; some went before, some behind, and some on 'the right hand, some on the left (as 'twere to guard 'them through the upper Regions) continually 'sounding as they went, with melodious noise, in 'notes on high; so that the very sight was to them 'that could behold it, as if Heaven it self was come 'down to meet them. Thus therefore they walked 'on together, and as they walked, ever and anon, 'these Trumpeters, even, with joyful sound, would, 'by mixing their Musick, with looks and gestures, 'still signifie to *Christian* and his Brother, how wel-'come they were into their company, and with what 'gladness they came to meet them: And now were 'these two men, as 'twere, in Heaven, before they 'came at it; being swallowed up with the sight of 'Angels, and with hearing of their melodious notes. 'Here also they had the City it self in view, and 'they thought they heard all the Bells therein to 'ring, to welcome them thereto: but above all, the 'warm, and joyful thoughts that they had about 'their own dwelling there, with such company, and 'that for ever and ever. Oh! by what tongue or 'pen can their glorious joy be expressed:' [2]and thus they came up to the Gate.

[1] So far as marked with inverted commas first inserted in the 2nd, and continued in all the sub. edits.

[2] 'and,' omitted in the 3rd and sub. edits.

Now when they were come up to the Gate, there was written over it, in Letters of Gold, *Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the Tree of life; and may enter in through the Gates into the City.* Re. 22. 14.

Then I saw in my Dream, that the shining men bid them call at the Gate, the which when they did, some from above looked over the Gate; to wit, *Enoch*, *Moses*, and *Elijah*, etc. to whom it was said, These Pilgrims, are come from the City of *Destruction*, for the love that they bear to the King of this place: and then the Pilgrims gave in unto them each man his Certificate, which they had received in the beginning; Those therefore were carried in to the King, who when he had read them, said, Where are the men? To whom it was answered, They are standing without the Gate, the King then commanded to open the Gate, *That the righteous Nation*, said he, *that keepeth Truth may enter in.* Isa. 26 2.

Now I saw in my Dream, that these two men went in at the Gate; and loe, as they entered, they were transfigured, and they had Raiment put on that shone like Gold. There was also that met them with Harps and Crowns, and gave them to them; the [3]Harp to praise withall, and the Crowns in token of honour; Then I heard in my Dream that all the Bells in the City Rang [4]'again' for joy; and that it was said unto them, *Enter ye into the joy of your Lord.* I also heard the men themselves, [5]say, that they sang with a loud voice, saying, *Blessing, Honour, Glory and Power, be to him that sitteth upon the Throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever.* Rev. 5. 13, 14.

Now just as the Gates were opened to let in the men, I looked in after them; and behold, the City

[3] 'the Harps,' 8th and sub. edits.

[4] 2nd and sub edits.

[5] 'say,' omitted in the 8th and sub. edits.

shone like the Sun, the Streets also were paved with Gold, and in them walked many men, with Crowns on their heads, Palms in their hands, and golden Harps to sing praises withall.

There were also of them that had wings, and they answered one another without intermission, saying, *Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord.* And after that, they shut up the Gates: which when I had seen, I wished my self among them.

'*Ignorance* comes up to the River,

Now while I was gazing upon all these things, I turned my head to look back, and saw *Ignorance* come up to the River side; but he soon got over, and that without half that difficulty which the other two men met with. For it happened that there was then [6]in that place one *Vain-hope* a Ferry-man, that with his Boat helped him over: so he, as the other I saw, did ascend the Hill to come up to the Gate, only he came alone; neither did any man meet him with the least incouragement. When he was come up to the Gate, he looked up to the writing that was above; and then began to knock, supposing that entrance should have been quickly administered to him: But he was asked by the men that lookt over the top of the Gate, Whence came you? and what would [8]you have? He answered, I have eat and drank in the presence of the King, and he has taught in our Streets. Then they asked him for his Certificate, that they might go in and shew it to the King. So he fumbled in his bosom for one, and found none. Then said they, Have you none? But the man answered never a word. So they told the King, but he would not come down to see him, but commanded the two shining Ones that conducted *Christian* and *Hopeful* to the City, to go out and take *Ignorance* and bind him hand and foot,

Vain-Hope does ferry him over.[7]'

[6] 'in the place,' 7th edit.

[7] First inserted in the 8th edit., 1682.

[8] 'what he would have,' 3rd to 7th; restored to 'what would you have,' in 8th and sub.

and have him away. Then they took him up, and carried him through the air to the door that I saw in the side of the Hill, and put him in there. Then I saw that there was a way to Hell, even from the Gates of Heaven, as well as from the City of *Destruction*. So I awoke, and behold it was a Dream.

FINIS.

The Conclusion.

Now Reader, I have told my Dream to thee;
See if thou canst Interpret it to me;
Or to thy self, or Neighbour: but take heed
Of mis-interpreting; for that, instead
Of doing good, will but thy self abuse:
By mis-interpreting evil insues.

Take heed also, that thou be not extream,
In playing with the out-side *of my Dream:*
Nor let my figure, or similitude,
Put thee into a laughter or a feud;
Leave this for Boys *and* Fools; *but as for thee,*
Do thou the substance of my matter see.

Put by the Curtains, look within my Vail;
Turn up my Metaphors and do not fail:
There, if thou seekest them, such things to find,
As will be helpfull to an honest mind.

What of my dross *thou findest there, be bold*
To throw away, but yet preserve the Gold.
What if my Gold be wrapped up in Ore?
None throws away the Apple for the Core:
But if thou shalt cast all away as vain,
I know not but 'twill make me Dream again.

THE END.


The Pilgrim's Progress Part 2d
Destruction

THE

Pilgrim's Progrefs.

FROM

THIS WORLD

TO

That which is to come

The Second Part.

Delivered under the Similitude of a

DREAM

Wherein is fet forth

The manner of the fetting out of *Chriſtian's* Wife and Children, their Dangerous JOURNEY,

AND

Safe Arrival at the Desired Country.

By JOHN BUNYAN,

I have uſed Similitudes, Hoſ. 12. 10.

LONDON,

Printed for *Nathaniel Ponder* at the *Peacock* in the *Poultry,* near the Church, 1684.

THE

Authors Way of Sending forth

HIS

Second Part

Of the

PILGRIM.

GO, *now my little Book, to every place,*
Where my first Pilgrim, *has but shewn his Face*
Call at their door: If any say, who's there?
Then answer thou, Christiana is here.
If they bid thee come in, *then enter thou*
With all thy boys. And then, as thou know'st how,
Tell who they are, also from whence they came,
Perhaps they'l know them, by their looks, or name:
But if they should not, ask them yet again
If formerly they did not Entertain
One Christian *a Pilgrim; If they say*
They did: And was delighted in his way:

Then let them know that those related were
Unto him: Yea, his Wife and Children are.
Tell them that they have left their House and Home,
Are turned Pilgrims, seek a World to come:
That they have *met with hardships in the way,*
That they do *meet with troubles night and Day;*
That they have trod on Serpents, fought with Devils,
Have also over-come a many evils.
Yea tell them also of the next, who have
Of love to Pilgrimage *been stout and brave*
Defenders of that way, and how they still
Refuse this World, to do their Fathers will.
Go, tell them also of those dainty things,
That Pilgrimage *unto the* Pilgrim *brings,*
Let them acquainted be, too, how they are
Beloved of their King, under his care;
What goodly Mansions *for them he provides,*
Tho they meet with rough Winds, and swelling tides.
How brave a calm they will enjoy at last,
Who to *their Lord, and* by *his ways hold fast.*
Perhaps with heart and hand they will embrace
Thee, as they did my firstling, and will Grace
Thee, and thy fellows, with such chear and fair,
As shew will, they of Pilgrims *lovers are.*

1 *Object.*

But how if they will not believe of me
That I am truly thine, cause some there be
That Counterfeit the Pilgrim, and his name,
Seek by disguise to seem the very same.
And by that means have wrought themselves into
The hands and Houses of I know not who.

Answer.

'Tis true, some have of late, to Counterfeit
My *Pilgrim, to their own, my Title set;*
Yea others, half my name and Title too;
Have stitched to their Book, to make them do;
But yet they by their Features *do declare*
Themselves not mine to be, whose ere they are.
If such thou meetst with, then thine only way
Before them all, is, to say out thy say,
In thine own native Language, which no man
Now useth, nor with ease dissemble can.
If after all, they still of you shall doubt,
Thinking that you like Gipsies *go about,*
In Naughty-wise the Countrey to defile,
Or that you seek good People to beguile
With things unwarantable: Send for me
And I will Testifie you Pilgrims *be;*
Yea, I will Testifie that only you
My Pilgrims *are: And that alone will do.*

2. *Object.*

But yet, perhaps, I may enquire for him
Of those that wish him Damned life and limb.
What shall I do, when I at such a door,
For *Pilgrims* ask, and they shall rage the more?

Answer.

Fright not thy self, my Book, for such Bugbears
Are nothing else but ground for groundless fears:
My Pilgrims *Book has travel'd Sea and Land,*
Yet could I never come to understand,

That it was slighted, or turn'd out of Door
By any Kingdom, were they Rich or Poor.
In France *and* Flanders *where men kill each other*
My Pilgrim *is esteem'd a Friend, a Brother.*
In Holland *too, 'tis said, as I am told,*
My Pilgrim *is with some, worth more than Gold.*
Highlanders, *and* Wild-Irish *can agree,*
My Pilgrim *should familiar with them be.*
'Tis in New-England *under such advance,*
Receives there so much loving Countenance,
As to be Trim'd, new-Cloth'd, and Deck't with Gems,
That it may shew its Features, and its limbs,
Yet more, so comely doth my Pilgrim *walk,*
That of him thousands daily Sing and talk.
If you draw nearer home, it will appear.
My Pilgrim *knows no ground, of shame, or fear;*
City, and Countrey will him entertain,
With Welcome Pilgrim. *Yea, they can't refrain*
From smiling, if my Pilgrim *be but by,*
Or shews his head in any Company.
Brave Galants do my Pilgrim *hug and love,*
Esteem it much, yea, value it above
Things of a greater bulk, yea, with delight,
Say my Larks-leg *is better then a* Kite.
Young Ladys, and young Gentle-women too,
Do no small kindness to my Pilgrim *shew;*
Their Cabinets, their Bosoms, and their Hearts
My Pilgrim *has, 'cause he to them imparts,*
His pretty riddles, in such wholsome straines
As yields them profit double to their paines
Of reading. Yea, I think I may be bold
To say some prize him far above their Gold.
The very Children that do walk the street,
If they do but my Holy Pilgrim *meet,*

Salute him will, will wish him well and say,
He is the only Stripling *of the Day.*
They that have never seen him, yet admire
What they have heard of him, and much desire
To have his Company, and hear him tell
Those Pilgrim storyes *which he knows so well.*
Yea, some who did not love him at the first,
But cal'd him Fool, *and* Noddy, *say they must*
Now they have seen *and* heard *him, him commend,*
And to those whom they love, they do him send.
Wherefore my Second Part, *thou needst not be*
Afraid to shew thy Head: None can hurt thee,
That wish but well to him, that went before,
'Cause thou com'st after with a Second store,
Of things as good, as rich, as profitable,
For Young, for Old, for Stag'ring and for stable.

3 *Object.*

But some there be that say, he laughs too loud;
And some do say his Head is in a Cloud.
Some say, his Words and Storys are so dark,
They know not how, by them, to find his mark.

Answer.

One may (I think) say, both his laughs and cryes,
May well be guest at by his watry Eyes.
Some things are of that Nature as to make
Ones fancie Checkle while his Heart doth ake,
When Jacob *saw his* Rachel *with the Sheep,*
He did at the same time both kiss and weep.
Whereas some say a Cloud is in his Head,
That doth but shew how Wisdom's covered

With its own mantles: And to stir the mind
To a search after what it fain would find,
Things that seem to be hid in words obscure,
Do but the Godly mind the more alure;
To study what those Sayings should contain,
That speak to us in such a Cloudy strain.
I also know, a dark Similitude
Will on the Fancie more it self intrude,
And will stick faster in the Heart and Head,
Then things from Similies not borrowed.
Wherefore, my Book, let no discouragement
Hinder thy travels. Behold, thou art sent
To Friends not foes: to Friends that will give place
To thee, thy Pilgrims, and thy words imbrace.
Besides, what my first Pilgrim *left conceal'd,*
Thou my brave Second Pilgrim, *hast reveal'd*
What Christian *left lock't up and went his way;*
Sweet Christiana *opens with her Key.*

4. *Object.*

But some love not the method of your first,
Romance they count it, throw't away as dust,
If I should meet with such, what should I say?
Must I slight them as they slight me, or nay?

Answer.

My Christiana, *if with such thou meet,*
By all-means in all Loving-wise, them greet;
Render them not reviling for revile;
But if they frown, I prethee on them smile,
Perhaps 'tis Nature, or some ill report
Has made them thus *dispise, or* thus *retort.*

Some love no Cheese, some love no Fish, and some
Love not their Friends, nor their own House or home
Some start at Pigg, slight Chicken, love not Fowl,
More then they love a Cuckow or an Owl,
Leave such, my Christiana, *to their choice,*
And seek those, who to find thee will rejoyce;
By no means strive, but in[1] *all humble wise,*
Present thee to them in thy Pilgrims *guise.*

Go then, my little Book and shew to all
That entertain, and bid thee welcome shall,
What thou shalt keep close, shut up from the rest,
And wish what thou shalt shew them may be blest
To them for good, may make them chuse to be
Pilgrims, better by far, then thee or me.

Go then, I say, tell all men who thou art,
Say, I am Christiana, *and my part*
Is now with my four Sons to tell you what
It is for men to take a Pilgrims *lot;*

Go also tell them who, *and what they be,*
That now do go on Pilgrimage *with thee;*
Say, here's my neighbour Mercy, *she is one,*
That has long-time with me a Pilgrim *gone:*
Come see her in her Virgin *Face, and learn*
'Twixt Idle ones, and Pilgrims *to discern.*
Yea let young Damsels learn of her to prize,
The World which is to come, in any wise;
When little Tripping *Maidens follow God,*
And leave old doting Sinners to his Rod;
'Tis like those Days wherein the young ones cri'd
Hosanah *to whom old ones did deride.*

Next tell them of old Honest, *who you found*
With his whit hairs treading the Pilgrims ground;

[1] 'but in humble wise,' 2nd and sub. edits.

Yea, tell them how plain-hearted this *man was,*
How after his good Lord he bare his Cross:
Perhaps with some gray Head this may prevail,
With Christ to fall in Love, and Sin bewail.
Tell them also how Master Fearing *went*
On Pilgrimage, and how the time he spent
In Solitariness, with Fears and Cries,
And how at last, he won the Joyful Prize.
He was *a good man, though much down in Spirit,*
He is *a good Man, and doth Life inherit.*
Tell them of Master Feeblemind *also,*
Who, not before, but still behind would go;
Shew them also how he had like been slain,
And how one Great-Heart *did his life regain:*
This man was true of Heart, tho weak in grace,
One might true Godliness read in his Face.
Then tell them of Master Ready-to-halt,
A Man with Crutches, but much without fault:
Tell them how Master Feeblemind, *and he*
Did love, and in Opinions *much agree.*
And let all know, tho weakness was their chance
Yet sometimes one could Sing, *the other* Dance.
Forget not Master Valiant-for-the-Truth,
That Man of courage, tho a very Youth.
Tell every one his Spirit was so stout,
No Man could ever make him face about,
And how Great-Heart, *and he could not forbear,*
But put down Doubting Castle, slay Despair.
Overlook not Master Despondancie,
Nor Much-a-fraid *his Daughter, tho they ly*
Under such Mantles as may make them look
(*With some*) *as if their God had them forsook.*
They softly went, but sure, and at the end,
Found that the Lord of Pilgrims *was their Friend.*

When thou hast told the World of all these things,
Then turn about, my book, and touch these strings;
Which, if but *touched will such Musick make,*
They'l make a Cripple dance, a Gyant quake.
These Riddles that lie couch't within thy breast,
Freely propound, expound: and for the rest
Of thy misterious lines, let them remain,
For those whose nimble Fancies shall them gain.

Now may this little Book a blessing be,
To those that love this little Book and me,
And may its buyer have no cause to say,
His Money is but lost or thrown away,
Yea may this Second Pilgrim *yield that Fruit;*
As may with each good Pilgrims *fancie sute,*
And may it perswade some that go astray,
To turn their Foot and Heart to the right way.

Is the Hearty Prayer

of the Author,

JOHN BUNYAN.

THE

Pilgrims Progress:

In the Similitude of a

D R E A M.

The Second Part.

Courteous Companions, some-time since, to tell you my Dream that I had of *Christian* the Pilgrim, and of his dangerous Journey toward the Celestial Countrey, was pleasant to me, and profitable to you. I told you then also what I saw concerning his *Wife* and *Children*, and how unwilling they were to go with him on Pilgrimage: Insomuch that he was forced to go on his Progress without them, for he durst not run the danger of that destruction which he feared would come by staying with them, in the City of Destruction: Wherefore as I then shewed you, he left them and departed.

Now it hath so happened, thorough the Multiplicity of Business, that I have been much hindred, and kept back from my wonted Travels into those Parts whence he went, and so could not till now obtain an opportunity to make further enquiry after whom he left behind, that I might give you an

account of them. But having had some concerns that way of late, I went down again thitherward. Now having taken up my Lodgings in a Wood about a mile off the place, as I slept I dreamed again.

And as I was in my Dream, behold, an aged Gentleman came by where I lay; and because he was to go some part of the way that I was travelling, me thought I got up and went with him. So as we walked, and as Travellers usually do, I was as if we fell into discourse, and our talk happened to be about *Christian* and his Travels: For thus I began with the Old-man.

Sir, said I, *what Town is that there below, that lieth on the left hand of our way?*

Then said Mr. *Sagasity*, for that was his name, It is the City of *Destruction*, a populous place, but possessed with a very ill conditioned and idle sort of People.

I thought that was that City, quoth I *I went once my self through that Town, and therefore know that this report you give of it, is true.*

Sag. Too true, I wish I could speak truth in speaking better of them that dwell therein.

Well Sir, quoth I, *Then I perceive you to be a well meaning man: and so one that takes pleasure to hear and tell of that which is good; pray did you never hear what happened to a man sometime ago in this Town* (*whose name was* Christian) *that went on Pilgrimage up towards the higher Regions?*

Sag. Hear of him! Ay, and I also heard of the Molestations, Troubles, Wars, Captivities, Cries, Groans, Frights and Fears that he met with, and had in his Journey. Besides, I must tell you, all our Countrey rings of him, there are but few Houses that have heard of him and his doings, but have sought after and got the *Records* of his Pilgrimage; yea, I think I may say, That that his

hazzardous Journey, has got a many wel-wishers to his ways: For though when he was here, he was *Fool* in every mans mouth, yet now he is gon, he is highly commended of all. For, 'tis said he lives bravely where he is: Yea many of them that are resolved never to run his hazzards, yet have their mouths water at his gains.

Christians are well spoken of when gone: tho' called Fools while they are here.

They may, quoth I, *well think, if they think any thing that is true, that he liveth well where he is, for he now lives at and in the Fountain of Life, and has what he has without labour and sorrow, for there is no grief mixed therewith.*†

Sag. Talk! The People talk strangely about him. Some say, that he *now walks in White*, that he has a Chain of Gold about his Neck, that he has a Crown of Gold, beset with Pearls, upon his head: Others say that the shining ones that sometimes shewed themselves to him in his Journey, are become his Companions, and that he is as familiar with them in the place where he is, as here one Neighbour is with another. Besides, 'tis confidently affirmed concerning him, that the King of the place where he is, has bestowed upon him already a very rich and pleasant Dwelling at Court, and that he every day eateth and drinketh, and walketh, and talketh with him, and receiveth of the smiles and favours of him that is Judg of all there. Moreover, it is expected of some that his Prince, the Lord of that Countrey, will shortly come into *these* parts, and will know the reason, if they can give any, why his Neighbours set so little by him, and had him so much in derision when they perceived that he would be a Pilgrim.

Rev. 3. 4.

Chap. 6. 11.

Zec. 3. 7.

Luke 14. 15.

Jude 14. 15.

For they say, that now he is so in the affections of his Prince, and that his *Soveraign* is so much

'Christians *King will take* Christians *part.*'[1]

† In 1728, these words were here introduced: 'But pray, what talk have the people about him?'

[1] Added in an edition dated 1687.

concerned with the *Indignities* that were cast upon *Christian* when he became a Pilgrim, that he will look upon all as if done unto himself; and no mar-
Luke 10. 16. vel, for 'twas for the love that he had to his Prince, that he ventured as he did.

I dare say, quoth I, *I am glad on it; I am glad*
Rev. 14. 13. *for the poor mans sake, for that now he has rest from his labour, and for that he now reapeth the benefit of his Tears with Joy: and for that he has got beyond the*
Psal. 126. 5. 6. *Gun-shot of his Enemies, and is out of the reach of them that hate him. I also am glad for that a Rumour of these things is noised abroad in this Countrey: Who can tell but that it may work some good effect on some that are left behind? But, pray Sir, while it is fresh in my mind, do you hear any thing of his Wife and Children? poor hearts, I wonder in my mind what they do!*

'*Good Tidings of* Christians *Wife and Children.*'[2] *Sag.* Who! *Christiana*, and her Sons! They are like to do as well as did *Christian* himself, for though they all plaid the Fool at the first, and would by no means be perswaded by either the tears or entreaties of *Christian*, yet second thoughts have wrought wonderfully with them; so they have packt up and are also gone after him.

Better and better, quoth I. *But what! Wife and Children and all?*

Sag. 'Tis true, I can give you an account of the matter, for I was upon the spot at the instant, and was throughly acquainted with the whole affair.

Then, said I, *a man it seems may report it for a truth?*

Sag. You need not fear to affirm it, I mean that they are all gon on Pilgrimage, both the good Woman and her four Boys. And being we are, as I perceive, going some considerable way together, I will give you an account of the whole of the matter.

This *Christiana* (for that was her name from the

[2] Inserted in 1687.

day that she with her Children betook themselves to a *Pilgrims* Life,) after her Husband was gone *over the River*, and she could hear of him no more, her thoughts began to work in her mind; First, for that she had lost her Husband, and for that the loving bond of that Relation was utterly broken betwixt them. For you know, said he to me, nature can do no less but entertain the living with many a heavy Cogitation in the remembrance of the loss of loving Relations. This therefore of her Husband did cost her many a Tear. But this was not all, for *Christiana* did also begin to consider with her self, whether her unbecoming behaviour towards her Husband, was not one cause that she saw him no more, and that in such sort he was taken a way from her. And upon this, came into her mind by *swarms*, all her unkind, unnatural, and ungodly Carriages to her dear Friend: which also clogged her Conscience, and did load her with guilt. She was moreover much broken with calling to remembrance the restless Groans, brinish Tears and self-bemoanings of her Husband, and how she did harden her heart against all his entreaties, and loving perswasions (of her and her Sons) to go with him, yea, there was not any thing that *Christian* either said to her, or did before her, all the while that his burden did hang on his back, but it returned upon her like a flash of lightning, and rent the Caul of her Heart in sunder. Specially that bitter out-cry of his, *What shall I do to be saved*, did ring in her ears most dolefully.

1 part Page 275. [187].

Mark this you that are churles to your godly Relations.

1 part. page 2. 3. [4].

Then said she to her Children, Sons, we are all undone. I have sinned away your Father, and he is gone; he would have had us with him; but I would not go my self, I also have hindred you of Life. With that the Boys fell all into Tears, and cryed out to go after their Father. Oh! Said *Christiana*, that it had been but our lot to go with

him, then had it fared well with us beyond what 'tis like to do now. For tho' I formerly foolishly imagin'd concerning the Troubles of your Father, that they proceeded of a foolish Fancy that he had, or for that he was over run with Melancholy Humours; yet now 'twill not out of my mind, but that they sprang from another cause, to wit, for that the [4]Light of Light was given him, by the help of which, as I perceive, he has escaped the Snares of Death. Then they all wept again, and cryed out: Oh, Wo, worth the day.

James 1. 23, 24, 25.

Christiana's *Dream.* Luke 18. 13.

The next night, *Christiana* had a Dream, and behold she saw as if a broad Parchment was opened before her in which were recorded the sum of her ways, and the [5]times, as she thought, lookt *very black upon her.* Then she cried out aloud in her sleep, *Lord have Mercy upon me a Sinner*, and the little Children heard her.

After this she thought she saw two very ill favoured ones standing by her Bed-side, and saying, *What shall we do with this Woman? For she cryes out for Mercy waking and sleeping: If she be suffered to go on as she begins, we shall lose her as we have lost her Husband.* Wherefore we must by one way or other, seek to take her off from the thoughts of what shall be hereafter: else all the World cannot help it, but she will become a Pilgrim.

'Mark this, this is the quintescence of Hell.' [6]

Now she awoke in a great Sweat, also a trembling was upon her, but after a while she fell to sleeping again. And then she thought she saw *Christian* her Husband in a place of Bliss among many *Immortals*, with an *Harp* in his Hand, Standing and playing upon it before one that sate on a Throne with a Rainbow about his Head. She saw also as if he bowed his Head with his Face to the

'Help against Discouragement.' [6]

[4] Altered [1726] after the author's death to 'Light of Life.'

[5] Altered, in 1708, to 'the crimes.'

[6] Added in 1687.

Pav'd-work that was under the Prince's Feet, saying, *I heartily thank my Lord and King for bringing of me into this Place* Then shouted a company of them that stood round about, and harped with their Harps: but no man living could tell what they said, but *Christian* and his Companions.

Next Morning when she was up, had prayed to God, and talked with her Children a while, one knocked hard at the door; to whom she spake out saying, *If thou comest in Gods name, come in.* So he said *Amen*, and opened the Door, and saluted her with *Peace be to this House.* The which when he had done, he said, *Christiana*, knowest thou wherefore I am come? Then she blusht and trembled, also her Heart began to wax warm with desires to know whence he came, and what was his Errand to her. So he said unto her; my name is *Secret*, I dwell with those that are high. It is talked of where I dwell, as if thou had'st a desire to go thither: also there is a report that thou art aware of the evil thou hast formerly done to thy Husband in hardening of thy Heart against his way, and in keeping of these thy Babes in their Ignorance. *Christiana*, the merciful one has sent me to tell thee that he is a God ready to forgive, and that he taketh delight [8]to multiply to pardon offences. He also would have thee know that he inviteth thee to come into his presence, to his Table, and that he will feed thee with the Fat of his House, and with the Heritage of *Jacob* thy Father.

'Convictions seconded with fresh Tidings of Gods readiness to Pardon.' [7]

There is *Christian* thy Husband, *that was*, with Legions more his Companions, ever beholding that face that doth minister Life to beholders: and they will all be glad when they shall hear the sound of thy feet step over thy Fathers Threshold.

[7] Inserted in 1687.

[8] Altered after the author's death [1708] to 'to multiply the pardon of offences.'

Christiana at this was greatly abashed in her self, and bowing her head to the ground, this *Visitor* proceeded and said, *Christiana!* Here is also a Letter for thee which I have brought from thy Husbands King. So she took it and opened it, but it smelt after the manner of the best Perfume, also it was Written in Letters of Gold. The Contents of the Letter was, *That the King would have her do as did* Christian *her Husband; for that was the way to come to his City, and to dwell in his Presence with Joy, forever.* At this the good Woman was quite overcome: So she cried out to her *Visitor*, *Sir, will you carry me and my Children with you, that we also may go and worship this King?*

Song 1. 3.

'Christiana *quite overcome.*'

Then said the Visitor, *Christiana! The bitter is before the sweet:* Thou must through Troubles, as did he that went before thee, enter this Celestial City. Wherefore I advise thee, to do as did *Christian* thy Husband: go to the *Wicket Gate* yonder, over the Plain, for that stands in the head of the way up which thou must go, and I wish thee all good speed. Also I advise that thou put this Letter in thy Bosome. That thou read therein to thy self and to thy Children, until you have got it by root-of-Heart. For it is one of the Songs that thou must Sing while thou art in this House of thy Pilgrimage. Also this thou must deliver in at the *further* Gate.

'*Further Instruction to* Christiana.'

Psal. 119. 54.

Now I saw in my Dream, that this Old Gentleman, as he told me this Story, did himself seem to be greatly affected therewith. He moreover proceeded and said, So *Christiana* called her Sons together, and began thus to Address her self unto them. My Sons, I have as you may perceive, been of late under much exercise in my Soul about the Death of your Father; not for that I doubt at all of his Happiness: For I am satisfied now that he

'Christiana *prays well for her Journey.*'

[9] Added in 1687.

is well. I have also been much affected with the thoughts of mine own State and yours, which I verily believe is by nature miserable: My Carriages also to your Father in his distress, is a great load to my Conscience. For I hardened both my own heart and yours against him, and refused to go with him on Pilgrimage.

The thoughts of these things would now kill me out-right; but that for a Dream which I had last night, and but that for the incouragement that this Stranger has given me this Morning. Come my Children, let us pack up, and be gon to the Gate that leads to the Celestial Countrey, that we may see your Father, and be with him, and his Companions in Peace, according to the Laws of that Land.

Then did her Children burst out into Tears for Joy that the Heart of their Mother was so inclined: So their *Visitor* bid them farewel: and they began to prepare to set out for their Journey.

But while they were thus about to be gon, two of the Women that were *Christianas* Neighbours, came up to her House and knocked at her Dore. To whom she said as before, *If you come in Gods name, come in.* At this the Women were stun'd, for this kind of Language, they used not to hear, or to perceive to drop from the Lips of *Christiana.* Yet they came in; but behold they found the good Woman a preparing to be gon from her House.

'Christiana's new Language stunds her old Neighbours.[1]'

So they began and said, *Neighbour, pray what is your meaning by this.*

Christiana answered and said to the eldest of them whose name was Mrs. *Timorous*, I am preparing for a Journey (This *Timorous* was daughter to him that met *Christian* upon the Hill *Difficulty:* and would a had him gone back for fear of the Lyons.) [1 *Part.* pag. 63. 64 [46.]]

Timorous. For what Journey I pray you?

[1] Added in 1687.

Chris. Even to go after my good Husband; and with that she fell a weeping.

Timorous *comes to visit* Christiana *with* Mercie, *one of her Neighbours.*

Timo. I hope not so, good Neighbour, pray for your poor Childrens sakes, do not so unwomanly cast away your self.

Chris. Nay, my Children, shall go with me; not one of them is willing to stay behind.

Timo. I wonder in my very heart, what, or who has brought you into this mind.

Chris. Oh, Neighbour, knew you but as much as I do, I doubt not but that you would go with me.

Timo. *Prithee what new knowledg hast thou got that so worketh off thy mind from thy Friends, and that tempteth thee to go no body knows where?*

Chris. Then *Christiana* reply'd, I have been sorely afflicted since my Husbands departure from me; but specially since he went *over the River.* But that which troubleth me most, is my churlish carriages to him when he was under his distress. Besides, I am *now,* as he was *then;* nothing will serve me but going on Pilgrimage. I was a dreaming last night that I saw him. O that my Soul was with him. He dwelleth in the presence of the King of the Countrey, he sits and eats with him at his Table, he is become a Companion of *Immortals,* and has a House now given him to dwell in, to which, the best Palaces on Earth, if compared, seem to me to be but as a Dunghil. The Prince of the [2]Place has also sent for me with promise of entertainment if I shall come to him; his messenger was here even now, and has brought me a Letter, which Invites me to come. And with that she pluck'd out her Letter, and read it, and said to them, what now will you say to this?

Death.

1 Cor. 5. 1, 2, 3, 4.

Timo. *Oh the madness that has possessed thee and thy Husband, to run your selves upon such difficulties!*

[2] Altered to 'Palace,' in 1693, and most subsequent editions.

You have heard, I am sure, what your Husband did meet with, even in a manner at the first step, that he took on his way, as our Neighbour Obstinate *can yet testifie; for he went along with him, yea and plyable too until they like wise men, were afraid to go any further. We also heard over and above, how he met with the Lyons, Apollion, the shadow of death, and many other things. Nor is the danger that he met with at* Vanity *fair to be forgotten by thee. For if he, tho' a man, was so hard put to it, what canst thou being but a poor Woman, do? Consider also that these four sweet Babes are thy Children, thy Flesh and thy Bones. Wherefore, though thou shouldest be so rash as to cast away thy self: Yet for the sake of the Fruit of thy Body, keep thou at home.*

[1] *Part pag.* 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14 [5 to 9.]

'*The reasonings of the flesh.*'[3]

But *Christiana* said unto her, tempt me not, my Neighbour: I have now a [4]price put into mine hand to get gain, and I should be a Fool of the greatest size, if I should have no heart to strike in with the opportunity. And for that you tell me of all these Troubles that I am like to meet with in the way, they are so far off from being to me a discouragement, that they shew I am in the right. *The bitter must come before the sweet*, and that also will make the sweet the sweeter. Wherefore since you came not to my House *in Gods name*, as I said, I pray you to be gon, and not to disquiet me farther.

'*A pertinent reply to fleshly reasonings.*'[3]

Then *Timorous* also revil'd her, and said to her Fellow, come Neighbour *Mercie*, lets leave her in her own hands, since she scorns our Counsel and Company. But *Mercie* was at a stand, and could not so readily comply with her Neighbour: and that for a two-fold reason. First, her Bowels yearned over *Christiana:* so she said with in her self, If my Neighbour will needs be gon, I will go a little way

Mercies *Bowels yearn over* Christiana.

[3] Added in 1687.

[4] Altered to 'a prize,' in 1708, and sub. edits.

with her, and help her. Secondly, her Bowels yearned over her own Soul, (for what *Christiana* had said, had taken some hold upon her mind.) Wherefore she said within her self again, I will yet have more talk with this *Christiana*, and if I find Truth and Life in what she shall say, my self with my Heart shall also go with her. Wherefore *Mercy* began thus to reply to her Neighbour *Timorous*.

Timorous *forsakes her; but* Mercy *cleaves to her.*

Mercie. Neighbour, *I did indeed come with you to see* Christiana *this Morning, and since she is, as you see, a taking of her last farewel of her Country, I think to walk this Sun-shine Morning, a little way with her to help her on the way.* But she told her not of her second Reason, but kept that to her self.

Timo. Well, I see you have a mind to go a fooling too: but take heed in time, and be wise: while we are out of danger we are out; but when we are in, we are in. So Mrs. *Timorous* returned to her House, and *Christiana* betook herself to her Journey.

Timorous *acquaints her Friends what the good* [6]Christian *intends to do.*

But when *Timorous* was got home to her House, she sends for some of her Neighbours, to wit, Mrs. *Bats-eyes*, Mrs. *Inconsiderate*, Mrs. *Light-mind*, and Mrs. *Know-nothing*. So when they were come to her House, she falls to telling of the story of *Christiana*, and of her intended Journey. And thus she began her Tale.

Timo. Neighbours, having had little to do this morning, I went to give *Christiana* a visit, and when I came at the door, I knocked, as you know 'tis our Custom. And she answered, *If you come in Gods name, come in.* So in I went, thinking all was well: But when I came in, I found her preparing her self to depart the Town, she and also her Children. So I asked her what was her meaning by that, and she told me in short, that she was now of a mind to go on Pilgrimage, as did her Husband.

[6] Altered to 'Christiana,' in 1687.

She told me also a Dream that she had, and how the King of the Country where her Husband was, had sent her an inviting Letter to come thither.

Then said Mrs. Know-nothing, *and what do you think she will go?* *Mrs.* Know-nothing.

Timo. Ay, go she will, what ever come on't; and methinks I know it by this, for that which was my great Argument to perswade her to stay at home, (to wit, the Troubles she was like to meet with in the way) is one great Argument with her to put her forward on her Journey. For she told me in so many words, *The bitter goes before the sweet.* Yea, and for as much as it so doth, it makes the sweet the sweeter.

Mrs. *Bats-eyes.* Oh this blind and foolish Woman, said she, will she not take warning by her Husbands Afflictions? For my part, I see if he was here again he would rest him content in a whole Skin, and never run so many hazards for nothing. *Mrs.* Bats-eyes.

Mrs. *Inconsiderate*, also replyed, saying, away with such Fantastical Fools from the Town, a good riddance, for my part, I say, of her. Should she stay where she dwels, and retain this her mind, who could live quietly by her? for she will either be dumpish or unneighbourly, or talk of such matters as no wise body can abide: Wherefore for my part I shall never be sorry for her departure, let her go and let better come in her room; 'twas never a good World since these whimsical Fools dwelt in it. *Mrs.* Inconsiderate.

Then Mrs. *Light-mind* added as followeth. Come put this kind of Talk away. I was Yesterday at Madam *Wantons*, where we were as merry as the Maids. For who do you think should be there, but I, and Mrs. *Love-the-flesh*, and three or four more with Mr. *Lechery*, Mrs. *Filth*, and some others: So there we had Musick and dancing, and what else was meet to fill up the pleasure. And I dare say *Mrs.* Light-mind, *Madam* Wanton *she that had like to a bin too hard for* Faithful *in time past, 1 part. pag.* 111 [79—80.]

my Lady her self is an admirably well bred Gentlewoman, and Mr. *Lechery* is as pretty a Fellow.

By this time *Christiana* was got on her way, and *Mercie* went along with her. So as they went, her Children being there also, *Christiana* began to discourse. And, *Mercie,* said *Christiana,* I take this as an unexpected favour, that thou shouldest set foot out of Doors with me to accompany me a little in my way.

Discourse betwixt Mercie *and good* Christiana.

Mercie *inclines to go.*

Mercie. Then said young Mercie *(for she was but young,) If I thought it would be to purpose to go with you, I would never go near the Town any more.*

'Christiana *would have her Neighbour with her.*[8]'

Chris. Well *Mercie,* said *Christiana,* cast in thy Lot with me. I well know what will be the end of our Pilgrimage, my Husband is where he would not but be, for all the Gold in the *Spanish* Mines. Nor shalt thou be rejected, tho thou goest but upon *my Invitation.* The King who hath sent for me and my Children, is one that delighteth in *Mercie.* Besides, if thou wilt, I will hire thee, and thou shalt go along with me as my servant. Yet we will have all things in Common betwixt thee and me, only go along with me.

Mercy *doubts of acceptance.*

Mercie. But how shall I be ascertained that I also shall be entertained? Had I this hope, [9]*but from one that can tell, I would make no stick at all, but would go being helped by him that can help, tho' the way was never so tedious.*

Christiana *allures her to the Gate which is* Christ, *and promiseth there to enquire for her.*

Christiana. Well, loving *Mercie,* I will tell thee what thou shalt do, go with me to the *Wicket Gate,* and there I will further enquire for thee, and if there thou shalt not meet with incouragement, I will be content that thou shalt return to thy place. I also will pay thee for thy Kindness which thou shewest to me and my Children in thy accompanying of us in our way as thou doest.

[8] Added in 1687.

[9] 'this hope from one,' 1687.

Mercie. Then will I go thither, and will take what shall follow, and the Lord grant that my Lot may there fall even as the King of Heaven shall have his heart upon me.

'[1] Mercy prays.'

Christiana, then was glad at her heart, not only that she had a Companion, but also for that she had prevailed with this poor Maid to fall in love with her own Salvation. So they went on together, and *Mercie* began to weep. Then said *Christiana*, wherefore weepeth my Sister so?

'[1] Christiana glad of Mercy's company.'

Mer. *Alas! said she, who can but lament that shall but rightly consider what a State and Condition my poor Relations are in, that yet remain in our sinful Town: and that which makes my grief the more heavy, is because they have no Instructor, nor any to tell them what is to come.*

'[1] Mercy grieves for her carnal Relations.'

Chris. Bowels becometh Pilgrims. And thou dost for thy Friends, as my good *Christian* did for me when he left me; he mourned for that I would not heed nor regard him, but his Lord and ours did gather up his Tears, and put them into his Bottle, and now both I, and thou, and these my sweet Babes, are reaping the Fruit and benefit of them. I hope, *Mercie*, these Tears of thine will not be lost, for the truth hath said; *That they that sow in Tears shall reap in Joy, in singing. And he that goeth forth and weepeth bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his Sheaves with him*

'[1] Christian's Prayers were answered for his Relations after he was dead.'

Psal. 126. 5. 6.

Then said *Mercie*,

Let the most blessed be my guide,
If't be his blessed Will,
Unto *his Gate*, into *his* [2]*fould*,
Up to *his Holy Hill.*
And let him never suffer me,
To swarve, or turn aside

[1] Added in 1687.

[2] 'his Fold,' 1687.

From his free grace, and Holy ways,
What ere shall me betide.
And let him gather them of mine,
That I have left behind.
Lord make them pray they may be thine,
With all their heart and mind.

1 *part page* 12 13. 14. 15. [9—11.] *Their own Carnal Conclusions, instead of the word of life.*

Now my old Friend proceeded and said, But when *Christiana* came up to the Slow of *Despond*, she began to be at a stand: For, said she, This is the place in which my dear Husband had like to have [3]a been smuthered with Mud. She perceived also, that notwithstanding the Command of the King to make this place for Pilgrims, good: yet it was rather worse than formerly. So I asked if that was true? Yes, said the Old Gentle-man, too true. For that many there be that pretend to be the King's Labourers; and that say they are for mending the Kings Highway, that bring *Dirt*, and *Dung* instead of Stones, and so marr instead of mending. Here *Christiana* therefore with her Boys, did make a stand: but said *Mercie*, come let us venture, only let us be wary. Then they looked well to the *Steps*, and made a shift to get staggeringly over.

[4] Mercy *the boldest at the Slow of* Despond.

Yet *Christiana* had like to a been in, and that not once nor twice. Now they had no sooner got over, but they thought they heard words that said unto them, *Blessed is she that believeth, for there shall be a performance of the things that have been told her from the Lord.*

Luke i. 45.

Then they went on again; and said *Mercie* to *Christiana*, Had I as good ground to hope for a loving reception at the *Wicket-Gate*, as you, I think no Slow of *Despond* would discourage me.

Well, said the other, you know *your sore*, and I

[3] 'to a been,' 1687. [4] Added in 1687.

know *mine;* and good friend, we shall all have enough evil before we come at our Journeys end.

For can it be imagined, that the people that design to attain such excellent Glories *as we do*, and that are so envied that Happiness *as we are;* but that we shall meet with what Fears and Scares, with what Troubles and Afflictions they can possibly assault us with, that hate us?

And now Mr. *Sagaciety* left me to Dream out my Dream by my self. Wherefore me-thought I saw *Christiana*, and *Mercie* and the *Boys* go all of them up to the Gate. To which when they were come, they betook themselves to a short debate, about *how* they must manage their calling at the Gate, and what should be said to him that did open to them. So it was concluded, since *Christiana* was the eldest, that she should knock for entrance, and that she should speak to him that did open, for the rest. So *Christiana* began to knock, and as her poor Husband did, she *knocked*, and *knocked* again. But instead of any that answered, they all thought that they heard, as if a Dog came barking upon them. A Dog and a great one too, and this made the Woman and Children afraid. Nor durst they for a while to knock any more, for fear the *Mastiff* should fly upon them. Now therefore they were greatly tumbled up and down in their minds, and knew not what to do. Knock they durst not, for fear of the Dog: go back they durst not for fear that the Keeper of that Gate should espy them, as they so went, and should be offended with them. At last they thought of knocking again, and knocked more vehemently then they did at the first. Then said the Keeper of the Gate, who is there? So the *Dog* left off to bark, and he opened unto them.

Prayer should be made with Consideration, and Fear: As well as in Faith and Hope.

1 *part pag.* 31. [22.]

The Dog, the Devil an Enemy to Prayer.

'*Christiana and her companions perplexed about Prayer.*[5]'

Then *Christiana* made low obeysance, and said, Let not our Lord be offended with his Hand maid-

[5] Added in 1687.

ens for that we have knocked at his Princely Gate. Then said the Keeper, Whence come ye, and what is that you would have?

Christiana answered, We are come from whence *Christian* did come, and upon the same *Errand* as he; to wit, to be, if it shall please you, graciously admitted by this Gate, into the way that leads to the Celestial City. And I answer, my Lord in the next place, that I am *Christiana* once the Wife of *Christian*, that now is gotten above.

With that the Keeper of the Gate did marvel, saying, *What is she become now a Pilgrim, that but a while ago abhorred that Life?* Then she bowed her Head, and said, Yes; and so are these my sweet Babes also.

Then he took her by the hand, and let her in and said also, *Suffer the little Children to come unto me,* and with that he shut up the Gate. This done, he called to a Trumpeter that was above over the Gate, to entertain *Christiana* with shouting and sound of Trumpet for joy. So he obeyed and sounded, and filled the Air with his Melodious Notes.

'[6] *How* Christiana *is entertained at the Gate.*'

[7] Luke 15. 7.

Now all this while, poor *Mercie* did stand without, trembling and crying for fear that she was rejected. But when *Christiana* had gotten admittance for her self and her Boys: Then she began to make Intercession for Mercy.

'† Christiana's *Prayer for her friend* Mercy.[6]'

Chris. And she said, my Lord, I have a Companion of mine that stands yet without, that is come hither upon the same account as my self. † *One that is much dejected in her mind, for that she comes, as she thinks, without sending for, whereas I was sent to by my Husbands King to come.*

The delays make the hungring Soul the ferventer.

Now *Mercie* began to be very impatient, for each *Minute* was as long to her as an hour, wherefore she prevented *Christiana* from a fuller interceding for

[6] Added in 1687. [7] Omitted in 1687, and sub. edits.

her, by knocking at the Gate her self. And she knocked *then* so loud, that she made *Christiana* to start. Then said the Keeper of the Gate who is there? And said *Christiana*, it is my Friend.

So he opened the Gate, and looked out; but *Mercie* was fallen down without in a Swoon, for she fainted and was afraid, that no Gate would be opened to her. *'Mercy faints.'*[7]

Then he took her by the hand, and said, *Damsel*, I bid thee arise.

O Sir, said she, I am faint, there is scarce Life left in me. But he answered, That one once said, *When my Soul fainted within me, I remembred the Lord, and my prayer came in unto thee, into thy Holy Temple.* Fear not, but stand upon thy Feet, and tell me wherefore thou art come. Jonah 2. 7.

Mer. I am come, for *that*, unto which I was never invited, as my Friend *Christiana* was. *Hers* was from the King, and *mine* was but from *her:* Wherefore I fear I presume. *'The cause of her fainting.'*[7]

Did she desire thee to come with her to this Place?

Mer. Yes. And as my Lord sees, I am come. And if there is any Grace or forgiveness of Sins to spare, I beseech that I thy poor Handmaid may be partaker thereof.

Then he took her again by the Hand, and led her gently in, and said: I pray for all them that believe on me, by what means soever they come unto me. Then said he to those that stood by: Fetch something, and give it *Mercie* to smell on, thereby to stay her fainting. So they fetcht her a *Bundle* of *Myrrh*, and a while after she was revived. *'mark this.'*[7]

And now was *Christiana* and her Boys and *Mercie received* of the Lord at the head of the way, and spoke kindly unto by him.

Then said they yet further unto him, We are

[7] Added in 1687.

sorry for our Sins, and beg of our Lord his Pardon, and further information, what we must do.

Song 1. 2. John 20. 20. I grant Pardon, said he, by word, and deed; by word in the promise of forgiveness: by deed in the way I obtained it. Take the first from my Lips with a kiss, and the other, as it shall be revealed.

Now I saw in my Dream that he spake many good words unto them, whereby they were greatly gladed. He also had them up to the top of the Gate and shewed them by what *deed* they were saved, and told them withall, that that sight they would have again as they went along in the way, to their comfort.

Christ Crucified seen afar off.

So he left them a while in a Summer Parler below, where they entred into talk by themselves. And thus *Christiana* began, *O Lord! How glad am I, that we are got in hither!*

[8] *'Talk between the Christians.'*

Mer. So you well may; but I, of all, have cause to leap for joy.

Chris. I thought, one time, as I stood at the Gate (because I had knocked and none did answer) that all our Labour had been lost: Specially when that ugly Curr made such a heavy barking [9] *against us.*

Mer. But my worst Fears was after I saw that you was taken in to his favour, and that I was left behind: Now thought I, 'tis fulfiled which is Written. *Two Women shall be Grinding together, the one shall be taken, and the other left.* I had much ado to forbear crying out, Undone, undone.

Mat. 24. 41.

And afraid I was to knock any more; but when I looked up, to what was Written over the Gate, I took Courage. I also thought that I must either knock again or dye. So I knocked; but I cannot tell how, for my spirit now *struggled* betwixt life and death.

1 *Part, pag.* 30. [22]

Chris. Can you not tell how you knocked? I am

[8] Inserted in 1687.

[9] '*heavy barking at us*,' 1687.

sure your knocks were so earnest, that the very sound of them made me start, I thought I never heard such knocking in all my Life. I thought you would a come in by violent hands, or a took the Kingdom by storm. Christiana *thinks her Companion prays better than she.* Matt. 11. 12.

Mer. Alas, to be in my Case, who that so was, could but a done so? You saw that the Door was shut upon me, and that there was a most cruel *Dog* thereabout. Who, I say, that was so faint hearted as I, that would not a knocked with all their might? But pray what said my Lord to my rudeness, was he not angry with me?

Chris. When he heard your lumbring noise, he gave a wonderful Innocent smile. I believe what you did pleas'd him well enough. For he shewed no sign to the contrary. But I marvel in my heart why he keeps such a Dog; had I known that afore, I fear I should not have had heart enough to a ventured my self in this manner. But now we are in, we are in, and I am glad with all my heart. 'Christ pleased with loud and restless praises.'[1] *If the Soul at first did know all it should meet with in its Journey to Heaven it would hardly ever set out.*[2]

Mer. I will ask if you please next time he comes down, why he keeps such a filthy Cur in his Yard. I hope he will not take it amiss.

Ay do, said the Children, and perswade him to hang him, for we are afraid he will bite us when we go hence. [3]'*The Children are afraid of the dog.*'

So at last he came down to them again, and *Mercie* fell to the Ground on her Face before him and worshipped, and said, Let my Lord accept of the Sacrifice of praise which I now offer unto him, with the calves of my Lips.

So he said unto her, Peace be to thee, stand up.

But she continued upon her Face and said, *Righteous art thou O Lord when I plead with thee, yet let me talk with thee of thy Judgments: Where-* Jer. 12. 1, 2. 'Mercy *expostulates about the dog.*'[3]

[1] Inserted in 1687; 'praises' altered to 'prayer,' in 1726.

[2] Omitted in 1687, and sub. edits.

[3] Inserted in 1687.

fore dost thou keep so cruel a Dog in thy Yard, at the sight of which, such Women and Children as we, are ready to fly from thy Gate for fear?

He answered, and said; *That Dog* has another [4]'*Devill.*' *Owner, he also is kept close in another man's ground; only my Pilgrims hear his barking. He 1 *part, page* 31 [24]. belongs to the Castle which you see there at a distance: but can come up to the Walls of this place. He has frighted many an honest Pilgrim from worse to better, by the great voice of his roaring. Indeed he that owneth him, doth not keep him of any good will to me or mine; but with intent to keep the Pilgrims from coming to me, and that they may be afraid to knock at this Gate for entrance. Sometimes also he has broken out, and has *worried* some that I love; but I take all at present '*A Check to the carnal fear of the Pilgrims.*'[4] patiently. I also give my Pilgrims timely help: So they are not delivered up to his power to do to them what his Dogish nature would prompt him to. But what! My purchased one, I tro, hadst thou known never so much before hand, thou wouldst not a bin afraid of a Dog.

The Beggars that go from Door to Door, will, rather then they will lose a supposed Alms, run the hazzard of the bauling, barking, and biting too of a Dog: And shall a Dog, a Dog in another Mans Yard: a Dog whose barking I turn to the profit of Pilgrims, keep any from coming to me? I deliver them from the *Lions*, their Darling from the power of the Dog.

Christians *when wise enough acquiesce in the wisdom of their Lord.*'[4] *Mercy.* Then said *Mercie, I confess my Ignorance: I spake what I understood not: I acknowledge* 'that'[4] *thou doest all things well.*

Chris. Then *Christiana* began to talk of their Journey, and to enquire after the way. So he fed them, and washed their feet, and set them in the

[4] Inserted in 1687.

way of his Steps, according as he had dealt with her Husband before. 1 *Part, page* 35 [26].

So I saw in my Dream, that they walkt on [6]'in' their way, and had the weather very comfortable to them.

Then *Christiana* began to sing, saying.

Bless't be the Day that I began,
A Pilgrim for to be.
And blessed also be that man,
That thereto moved me.
'Tis true, 'twas long ere I began
To seek to live for ever:
But now I run fast as I can,
'Tis better late, *then* never.
Our Tears *to joy, our fears to Faith*
Are turned, as we see:
Thus our beginning (*as one saith,*)
Shews, what our end will be.

Now there was, on the other side of the Wall that fenced in the way up which *Christiana* and her Companions was to go, *a Garden; and that Garden belonged to him whose was that *Barking Dog* of whom mention was made before. And some of the Fruit-Trees that grew in that Garden shot their Branches over the Wall, and being mellow, they that found them did gather them up and oft eat of them to their hurt. So *Christiana's* Boys, as Boys are apt to do, being pleas'd with the Trees, and with the Fruit that did hang thereon, did [7]*Plash* them, and began to eat. Their Mother did also chide them for so doing; but still the Boys went on. *'* The Devils Garden.'* [6] *The Children eat of the Enemies Fruit.*

Well, said she, my Sons, you Transgress, for

[6] Added in 1687.

[7] 'did Pluck,' 1687, and sub. edits. 'Plash,' to cut hedges or trees. The boys [did Plash] had a cut at the trees, and knocked the fruit off.

that Fruit is none of ours: but she did not know that they did belong to the Enemy; Ile warrant you if she had, she would a been ready to die for fear. But that passed, and they went on their way. Now by that they were gon about two Bows-shot from the place that [8]let them into the way: they espyed two very *ill-favoured ones* coming down apace to meet them. With that *Christiana*, and *Mercie* her Friend covered themselves with their Vails, and so kept on their Journey: The Children also went on before, so that at last they met together. Then they that came down to meet them, came just up to the Women, as if they would imbrace them; but *Christiana* said, Stand back, or go peaceably by as you should. Yet these two, as men that are deaf, regarded not *Christiana's* words; but began to lay hands upon them; at that *Christiana* waxing very wroth, spurned at them with her feet. *Mercie* also, as well as she could, did what she could to shift them. *Christiana* again, said to them, Stand back and be gon, for we have no Money to loose being Pilgrims as ye see, and such too as live upon the Charity of our Friends.

Two ill-favoured ones.

They assault Christiana.

[9] *'The pilgrims struggle with them.'*

Ill-fa. Then said one of the two of the Men, we make no assault upon you for Money, but are come out to tell you, that if you will but grant one small request which we shall ask, we will make Women of you for ever.

Christ. Now *Christiana* imagining what they should mean, made answer again, *We will neither hear nor regard, nor yield to what you shall ask. We are in haste, cannot stay, our Business is a Business of Life and Death:* So again she and her Companions made a fresh assay to go past them. But they letted them in their way.

Ill-fa. And they said, we intend no hurt to your lives, 'tis another thing we would have.

[8] 'led them,' 1687. [9] Inserted in 1687.

Christ. Ay, quoth *Christiana*, you would have us Body and Soul, for I know 'tis for that you are come; but we will die rather upon the spot, then suffer our selves to be brought into such Snares as shall hazzard our well being hereafter. And with that they both *Shrieked* out, and cryed Murder, Murder: And so put themselves under those Laws that are provided for the Protection of Women. But the men still made their approach upon them, with design to prevail against them: They therefore cryed out again. *She cryes out.* Deut. 22. 23, 26, 27.

*Now they being, as I said, not far from the Gate in at which they came, their voice was heard from where they was, thither: Wherefore some of the House came out, and knowing that it was *Christiana's* Tongue: they made haste to her relief. But by that they was got within sight of them, the Women was in a very great scuffle, the Children also stood crying by. Then did he that came in for their relief, call out to the Ruffins saying, What is that thing that you do? Would you make my Lords People to transgress? He also attempted to take them: but they did make their escape over the Wall into the Garden of the Man, to whom the great Dog belonged, so the Dog became their Protector. This *Reliever* then came up to the Women, and asked them how they did. So they answered, we thank thy Prince, pretty well, only we have been somewhat affrighted, we thank thee also for that thou camest in to our help, for otherwise we had been overcome. *'*'Tis good to cry out when we are assaulted.'* [1] *The* Reliever *comes.* *The ill Ones fly 'to the devill for relief.'* [1]

Reliever. So after a few more words, this *Reliever* said, as followeth: *I marvelled much when you was entertained at the Gate above, being ye knew that ye were but weak Women, that you petitioned not the Lord there for a Conductor: Then might you have avoided* *The* Reliever *talks to the Women.*

[1] Inserted in 1687.

these Troubles, and Dangers: For he would have granted you one.

'*mark this.*'[2] *Christ.* Alas said *Christiana*, we were so taken with our present blessing, that Dangers to come were forgotten by us; besides, who could have thought that so near the King's Palace there should have lurked such naughty ones: Indeed it had been well for us had we asked our Lord for one; but since our Lord knew 'twould be for our profit, I wonder he sent not one along with us.

We lose for want of asking for. *Relie. It is not always necessary to grant things not asked for, lest by so doing they become of little esteem; but when the want of a thing is felt, it then comes, under, in the Eyes of him that feels it, that estimate, that properly is its due, and so consequently will be thereafter used. Had my Lord granted you a Conductor, you would not neither, so have bewailed that oversight of yours in not asking for one, as now you have occasion to do. So all things work for good, and tend to make you more wary.*

Christ. Shall we go back again to my Lord, and confess our folly and ask one?

Relie. Your Confession of your folly, I will present him with: To go back again, you need not. For in all places where you shall come, you will find no want at all, for in every of my Lord's Lodgings which he has prepared for the reception of his Pilgrims, there is sufficient to furnish them against all attempts whatsoever. But, as I said, he will be inquired of by them Ezek. 36. 37. *to do it for them: and 'tis a poor thing that is not worth asking for.* When he had thus said, he went back to his place, and the Pilgrims went on their way.

The mistake of Mercie. *Mer.* Then said *Mercie*, what a sudden blank is here? I made account we had now been past all danger, and that we should never see sorrow more.

[2] Inserted in 1687.

Christ. Thy *Innocency*, my Sister, said *Christiana* to *Mercie*, may excuse thee much; but as for me, my fault is so much the greater, for that I saw this danger before I came out of the Doors, and yet did not provide for it, where Provision might a been had. I am therefore much to be blamed. Christiana's *Guilt.*

Mer. Then said Mercie, *how knew you this before you came from home? pray open to me this Riddle.*

Christ. Why, I will tell you. Before I set Foot out of Doors, one Night, as I lay in my Bed, I had a Dream about this. For methought I saw two men, as like these as ever the World they could look, stand at my *Beds-feet*, Plotting how they might prevent my Salvation. I will tell you their very words. They said, ('twas when I was in my Troubles,) *What shall we do with this Woman? For she cries out waking and sleeping for forgiveness, if she be suffered to go on as she begins, we shall lose her as we have lost her Husband.* This you know might a made me take heed, and have provided when Provision might a been had. Christiana's *Dream repeated.*

Mer. Well said *Mercie, as by this neglect, we have an occasion ministred unto us, to behold our own imperfections: So our Lord has taken occasion thereby, to make manifest the Riches of his Grace. For he, as we see, has followed us with un-asked kindness, and has delivered us from their hands that were stronger than we, of his meer good pleasure.* 'Mercy *makes good use of their neglect of duty.*'[3]

Thus now when they had talked away a little more time, they drew nigh to an House which stood in the way, which House was built for the relief of Pilgrims: As you will find more fully related in the first part of these Records of the *Pilgrims Progress.* So they drew on towards the House, (the House of the Interpreter) and when they came to the Door they heard a great talk in [1] *Part, pag.* 36 [27].

[3] Inserted in 1687.

the House, they then gave ear, and heard, as they thought, *Christiana* mentioned by name. For you must know that there went along, even before her, a talk of her and her Childrens going on Pilgrimage. And this thing was the more pleasing to them, because they had heard that she was *Christian's* Wife; that Woman who was sometime ago, so unwilling to hear of going on Pilgrimage. Thus therefore they stood still and heard the good people within commending her, who they little thought stood at the Door. †At last *Christiana* knocked as she had done at the Gate before. Now when she had knocked, there came to the Door a young Damsel, [4]'named *innocent*,' and opened the Door and looked, and behold two Women was there.

'Talk in the Interpreters house about Christiana's *going on pilgrimage.'* [4]

'† She knocks at the door.' [4]

'[4] The door is opened to them by Innocent *'*

Dams. *Then said the Damsel to them, With whom would you speak in this place?*

Christ. Christiana answered, we understand that this is a privileged place for those that are become Pilgrims, and we now at this Door are such: Wherefore we pray that we may be partakers of that for which we at this time are come; for the day, as thou seest, is very far spent, and we are loth to night to go any further.

Dams. Pray what may I call your name, that I may tell it to my Lord within?

Christ. My name is *Christiana*, I was the Wife of that Pilgrim that some years ago did travel this way, and these be his four children. This Maiden also [5]is my Companion, and is going on Pilgrimage too.

Innocent. Then ran *Innocent* in (for that was her name) and said to those within, Can you think who is at the Door! There is *Christiana* and her Children, and her Companion, all waiting for entertainment here. *Then they leaped for Joy, and

' Joy in the house of the Interpreter that* Christiana *is turned Pilgrim.'* [4]

[4] Inserted in 1687.

[5] 'is also,' 1687.

went and told their Master. So he came to the Door, and looking upon her, he said, *Art thou that* Christiana *whom* Christian *the Good-man, left behind him, when he betook himself to a Pilgrims Life.*

Christ. I am that Woman that was so hard-hearted as to slight my Husbands Troubles, and that left him to go on in his Journey alone, and these are his four Children; but now I also am come, for I am convinced that no way is right but this.

Inter. *Then is fulfilled that which also is Written of the Man that said to his Son, go work to day in my Vineyard, and he said to his Father, I will not; but afterwards repented and went.* Mat. 21. 29.

Christ. Then said *Christiana*, So be it, *Amen.* God make it a true saying upon me, and grant that I may be found at the last, of him in peace without spot and blameless.

Inter. *But why standest thou thus at the Door, come in thou Daughter of* Abraham, *we was talking of thee but now: For tidings have come to us before, how thou art become a Pilgrim. Come Children, come in; come Maiden, come in; so he had them all in to the House.*

So when they were within, they were bidden sit down and rest them, the which when they had done, those that attended upon the Pilgrims in the House, came into the Room to see them. And one smiled, and another smiled, and they all smiled for Joy that *Christiana* was become a Pilgrim. They also looked upon the Boys, they stroaked them over the Faces with the Hand, in token of their kind reception of them: they also carried it lovingly to *Mercie*, and bid them all welcome into their Masters House. *Old Saints glad to see the young ones walk in Gods ways.*

After a while, because Supper was not ready, the *Interpreter* took them into his *Significant* Rooms, *'[7] The Significant Rooms.'*

[7] Inserted in 1687.

[p. 28 to 37.] and shewed them what *Christian, Christiana's* Husband had seen sometime before. Here therefore they saw the *Man* in the *Cage*, the *Man* and his Dream, the man that cut his way thorough his Enemies, and the Picture of the biggest of them all: together with the rest of those things that were then so profitable to *Christian.*

This done, and after these things had been somewhat digested by *Christiana*, and her Company: the *Interpreter* takes them apart again: and has them first into a Room, *where was a man that could look no way but downwards, with a Muckrake in his hand. There stood also one over his head with a Celestial Crown in his Hand, and proffered to give him that Crown, for his Muck-rake; but the man did neither look up, nor regard; but raked to himself the Straws, the small Sticks, and Dust of the* [8] *Floar.*

The man with the Muckrake expounded.

Then said *Christiana, I perswade my self that I* [9] *knew somewhat the meaning of this: For this is a Figure of a man of this World: Is it not, good Sir?*

Inter. Thou hast said the right, said he, and his *Muck-rake* doth shew his Carnal mind. And whereas thou seest him rather give heed to rake up Straws and Sticks, and the Dust of the Floar, then to what he says that calls to him from above with the Celestial Crown in his Hand; it is to show, That Heaven is but as a Fable to some, and that things here are counted the only things substantial. Now whereas it was also shewed thee, that the man could look no way but downwards: It is to let thee know that earthly things when they are with Power upon Mens minds, quite carry their hearts away from God.

'Christiana's *prayer against the* Muck-rake.'[1]

Christ. Then said Christiana, *O! deliver me from this Muck-rake.*

Inter. That Prayer, said the *Interpreter*, has lain

[8] 'Floor,' 1687.
[9] 'know,' 1687.
[1] Inserted in 1687.

by till 'tis almost rusty: *Give me not Riches,* Is scarce the Prayer of one of ten thousand. Straws, and Sticks, and Dust, with most, are the great things now looked after. Prov. 30. 8.

With that *Mercie*, and *Christiana* wept, and said, It is alas! too true.

When the *Interpreter* had shewed them this, he has them into the very best Room in the House, (a very brave Room it was) so he bid them look round about, and see if they could find any thing profitable there. Then they looked round and round: For there was nothing there to be seen but a very great *Spider* on the Wall; and that they overlookt.

Mer. Then said Mercie, *Sir, I see nothing; but* Christiana *held her peace.*

Inter. But said the *Interpreter*, look again: she therefore lookt again and said, Here is not any thing, but an *ugly Spider*, who hangs by her Hands upon the Wall. Then said he, Is there but one *Spider* in all this spacious Room? Then the water stood in *Christiana's* Eyes, for she was a Woman quick of apprehension: and she said, Yes, Lord, there is here [2]more than one. Yea, and *Spiders* whose Venom is far more destructive then that which is in her. The *Interpreter* then looked pleasantly upon her, and said, Thou hast said the Truth. This made *Mercie* blush, and the Boys to cover their Faces: For they all began now to understand the Riddle. *Of the Spider.* [1]'*Talk about the Spider.*'

Then said the *Interpreter* again, *The Spider taketh hold with her hands as you see, and is in Kings Pallaces.* And wherefore is this recorded; but to shew you, that how full of the Venome of Sin soever you be, yet you may by the hand of Faith lay hold of, and dwell in the best Room that belongs to the Kings House above? Pro. 30. 28. [1]'*The Interpretation.*'

Chris. I thought, said *Christiana*, of something

[1] Inserted in 1687. [2] 'more here,' 1687.

of this; but I could not imagin it all. I thought that we were like *Spiders*, and that we looked like ugly Creatures, in what fine Room soever we were: But that by this *Spider*, this venomous and ill favoured Creature, we were to learn *how to act Faith*, '[2]that' came not into my mind. [3]And yet she has taken hold with her hands, as I see, and dwells in the best Room in the House. God has made nothing in vain.

Then they seemed all to be glad; but the water stood in their Eyes: Yet they looked one upon another, and also bowed before the *Interpreter*.

Of the Hen and Chickens

He had them then into another Room where was a Hen and Chickens, and bid them observe a while. So one of the Chickens went to the Trough to drink, and every time she drank she lift up her head and her eyes towards Heaven. See, said he, what this little Chick doth, and learn of her to acknowledge whence your Mercies come, by receiving them with looking up. Yet again, said he, observe and look: So they gave heed, and perceived that the Hen did walk in a fourfold Method towards her Chickens. 1. She had a *common call*, and that she hath all day long. 2. She had a *special call*, and that she had but sometimes. 3. She had a *brooding note*, and 4. she had an *out-cry*.

Matt. 23. 27.

Now, said he, compare this *Hen* to your King, and these Chickens to his Obedient ones. For answerable to her, himself has his Methods, which he walketh in towards his People. By his common call, *he gives nothing*, by his special call, he always *has something to give*, he has also a brooding voice, *for them that are under his Wing*, and he has an out-cry, to give *the Alarm when he seeth the Enemy come*. I chose, my Darlings, to lead you into the

[2] Inserted in 1687.

[3] Altered after the author's death, to 'that came not into my thoughts, that she worketh with her hands.'

Room where such things are, because you are Women, and they are easie for you.

Chris. And Sir, said *Christiana*, pray let us see some more: So he had them into the Slaughter-house, where was a *Butcher* a killing of a Sheep: And behold the Sheep was quiet, and took her Death patiently. Then said the *Interpreter:* you must learn of this Sheep, to suffer: And to put up wrongs without murmurings and complaints. Behold how quietly she takes her Death, and without objecting she suffereth her Skin to be pulled over her Ears. Your King doth call you his Sheep. *Of the Butcher and the Sheep.*

After this, he led them into his Garden, where was great variety of Flowers: and he said, do you see all these? So *Christiana* said, yes. Then said he again, Behold the Flowers are divers in *Stature*, in *Quality*, and *Colour*, and *Smell*, and *Virtue*, and some are better than some: Also where the Gardiner has set them, there they stand, and quarrel not one with another. *Of the Garden.*

Again, he had them into his Field, which he had sowed with Wheat, and Corn: but when they beheld, the tops of all was cut off, only the Straw remained. He said again, This Ground was Dunged, and Plowed, and sowed; but what shall we do with the Crop? Then said *Christiana*, burn some and make muck of the rest. Then said the *Interpreter* again, Fruit you see is that thing you look for, and for want of that you condemn it to the Fire, and to be trodden under foot of men: Beware that in this you condemn not your selves. *Of the Field.*

Then, as they were coming in from abroad, they espied a little *Robbin* with a great *Spider* in his mouth. So the *Interpreter* said, look here. So they looked, and *Mercie* wondred; but *Christiana* said, what a disparagement is it to such a little pretty Bird as the *Robbin-red-breast* is, he being also a Bird above many, that loveth to maintain a *Of the Robbin and the Spider.*

kind of Sociableness with Man? I had thought they had lived upon crums of Bread, or upon other such harmless matter. I like him worse than I did.

The *Interpreter* then replied, This *Robbin* is an Emblem very apt to set forth some Professors by; for to sight they are as this *Robbin*, pretty of Note, Colour and Carriage, they seem also to have a very great Love for Professors that are sincere; and above all other to desire to [5]sosciate with, and to be in their Company, as if they could live upon the good Mans Crums. They pretend also that therefore it is, that they frequent the House of the Godly, and the appointments of the Lord: but when they are by themselves, *as the Robbin*, they can catch and gobble up *Spiders*, they can change their Diet, drink *Iniquity*, and swallow down *Sin* like Water.

Pray and you will get at that which yet lies unrevealed.

So when they were come again into the House, because Supper as yet was not ready, *Christiana* again desired that the *Interpreter* would either *shew* or *tell* of some other things that are Profitable.

Then the *Interpreter* began and said, *The fatter the Sow is, the more she desires the Mire; the fatter the Ox is, the more gamesomly he goes to the Slaughter; and the more healthy the lusty man is, the more prone he is unto Evil.*

There is a desire in Women, to go neat and fine, and it is a comely thing to be adorned with that, that in Gods sight is of great price.

'Tis easier watching a night or two, then to sit up a whole year together: So 'tis easier for one to begin to profess well, then to hold out as he should to the end.

Every Ship-Master, when in a Storm, will willingly cast that over Board that is of the smallest value in the Vessel; but who will throw the best out first? none but he that feareth not God.

One leak will sink a Ship, and one Sin will destroy a Sinner.

[5] 'to sociate,' 1687.

He that forgets his Friend, is ungrateful unto him; but he that forgets his Saviour is unmerciful to himself.

He that lives in Sin, and looks for Happiness hereafter, is like him that soweth Cockle, and thinks to fill his Barn with Wheat or Barley.

If a man would live well, let him fetch his last day to him, and make it always his company-Keeper.

Whispering and change of thoughts, proves that Sin is in the World.

If the World, which God sets light by, is counted a thing of that worth with men: what is Heaven [6]*which God commendeth?*

If the Life that is attended with so many troubles, is so loth to be let go by us, What is the Life above?

Every Body will cry up the goodness of Men; but who is there that is, as he should, affected with the Goodness of God?

We seldom sit down to Meat; but we eat, and leave: So there is in Jesus Christ more Merit and Righteousness then the whole World has need of.

When the *Interpreter* had done, he takes them out into his Garden again, and had them to a Tree whose *inside* was all Rotten, and gone, and yet it grew and had Leaves. Then said *Mercie*, what means this? This Tree, said he, whose *out-side* is fair, and whose *inside* is Rotten; it is to which many may be compared that are in the Garden of God: Who with their mouths speak high in behalf of God; but indeed will do nothing for him: whose Leaves are fair; but their heart Good for nothing, but to be *Tinder* for the Devils *Tinder-Box*.

Of the Tree that is rotten at heart.

Now Supper was ready, the Table spread, and all things set on[7] the Board; so they sate down and did eat when one had given thanks. And the *Interpreter* did usually entertain those that lodged

They are at Supper.

[6] 'Heaven that God,' 1687.

[7] 'on Board,' 1687.

with him, with Musick at Meals, so the Ministrels played. There was also one that did Sing. And a very fine voice he had.

His Song was this.

The Lord is only my Support,
And he that doth me feed:
How can I then want any thing,
Whereof I stand in need?

When the Song and Musick was ended, the *Interpreter* asked *Christiana, What it was that at first did move her to betake herself to a Pilgrims Life?*

Talk at Supper. A Repetition of Christiana's Experience.

Christiana answered. *First,* the loss of my Husband came into my mind, at which I was heartily grieved: but all that was but natural Affection. Then after that, came the Troubles, and Pilgrimage of my Husbands into my mind, and also how like a Churl I had carried it to him as to that. So guilt took hold of my mind, and would have drawn me into the *Pond;* but that opportunely I had a Dream of the well-being of my Husband, and a Letter sent me by the King of that Country where my Husband dwells, to come to him. The Dream and the Letter together so wrought upon my mind, that they forced me to this way.

Inter. *But met you with no opposition afore you set out of Doors?*

Chris. Yes, a Neighbour of mine one Mrs. *Timorous,* (She was a kin to him that would have perswaded my Husband to go back for fear of the Lions.) She all-to-be-fooled me; for, as she called it, my intended desperate adventure; she also urged what she could, to dishearten me to it, the hardship and Troubles that my Husband met with in the way; but all this I got over pretty well. But a Dream that I had, of two ill lookt ones, that I thought did Plot how to make me miscarry in

my Journey, that hath troubled me much: Yea, it still runs in my mind, and makes me afraid of every one that I meet, lest they should meet me to do me a mischief, and to turn me out of the way. Yea, I may tell my Lord, tho' I would not have every body know it, that between this and the Gate by which we got into the way, we were both so sorely assaulted, that we were made to cry out Murder, and the two that made this assault upon us, were like the two that I saw in my Dream.

Then said the *Interpreter*, Thy beginning is good, thy latter end shall greatly increase. So he addressed himself to *Mercie*, and said unto her, *And what moved thee to come hither sweet-heart?* *A question put to Mercie.*

Mercie. Then *Mercie* blushed and trembled, and for a while continued silent.

Interpreter. *Then said he, be not afraid, only believe, and speak thy mind.*

Mer. So she began and said. Truly Sir, my want of Experience, is that that makes me covet to be in silence, and that also that fills me with fears of coming short at last. I cannot tell of Visions, and Dreams as my friend *Christiana* can; nor know I what it is to mourn for my refusing of the Counsel of those that were good Relations. *'Mercys answer.'*[s]

Interpreter. *What was it then, dear-heart, that hath prevailed with thee to do as thou hast done?*

Mer. Why, when our friend here, was packing up to be gone from our Town, I and another went accidentally to see her. So we knocked at the Door and went in. When we were within, and seeing what she was doing, we asked what was her meaning. She said she was sent for to go to her Husband, and then she up and told us, how she had seen him in a Dream, dwelling in a curious place among *Immortals* wearing a Crown, playing upon a Harp, eating and drinking at his Princes Table,

[s] Inserted in 1687.

and singing Praises to him for bringing him thither, &c. Now methought, while she was telling these things unto us, my heart burned within me. And I said in my Heart, if this be true, I will leave my Father and my Mother, and the Land of my Nativity, and will, if I may go along with *Christiana*.

So I asked her further of the truth of these things, and if she would let me go with her? For I saw now that there was no dwelling, but with the danger of ruin, any longer in our Town. But yet I came away with a heavy heart, not for that I was unwilling to come away; but for that so many of my Relations were left behind. And I am come with all the desire of my heart, and will go if I may with *Christiana* unto her Husband, and his King.

Ruth 2, 11, 12.

Inter. Thy setting out is good, for thou hast given credit to the truth. Thou art a *Ruth*, who did for the love that she bore to *Naomi*, and to the Lord her God, leave Father and Mother, and the land of her Nativity to come out, and go with a People that she knew not heretofore, *The Lord recompence thy work, and* [9]*a full reward be given thee of the Lord God of* Israel, *under whose Wings thou art come to trust.*

'*They address themselves for bed.*' Mercy's *good nights rest.*'

Now Supper was ended, and Preparations was made for Bed, the Women were laid singly alone, and the Boys by themselves. Now when *Mercie* was in Bed, she could not sleep for joy, for that now her doubts of missing at last, were removed further from her than ever they were before. So she lay blessing and Praising God who had had such favour for her.

In the Morning they arose with the *Sun*, and prepared themselves for their departure: But the

[9] 'and ful,' 1687. Inserted in 1687.

Interpreter would have them tarry a while, for, said he, you must orderly go from hence. Then said he to the Damsel that at first opened unto them, Take them and have them into the Garden to the *Bath*, and there wash them, and make them clean from the soil which they have gathered by travelling. Then *Innocent* the Damsel took them and had them into the Garden, and brought them to the *Bath*, so she told them that there they must wash and be clean, for so her Master would have the Women to do that called at his House as they were going on *Pilgrimage*. They then went in and washed, yea they and the Boys and all, and they came out of that *Bath* not only sweet, and clean; but also much enlivened and strengthened in their Joynts: So when they came in they looked fairer a deal, then when they went out to the washing.

The Bath Sanctification.

'*They wash in it.*'[1]

When they were returned out of the Garden from the *Bath*, the *Interpreter* took them and looked upon them and said unto them, *fair as the Moon*. Then he called for the *Seal* wherewith they used to be *Sealed* that were washed in his *Bath*. So the *Seal* was brought, and he set his Mark upon them, that they might be known in the Places whither they were yet to go: Now the seal was the contents and sum of the Passover which the Children of *Israel* did eat when they came out from the Land of *Egypt:* and the mark was set between their Eyes. This seal greatly added to their Beauty, for it was an Ornament to their Faces. It also added to their gravity and made their Countenances more like them of Angels.

'They are sealed.'[1]

'[2] Exo. 13. 8, 9, 10.'

Then said the *Interpreter* again to the Damsel that waited upon these Women, Go into the Vestry and fetch out Garments for these People: So she went and fetched out white Rayment, and laid it

[1] Inserted in 1687.

[2] Quotation inserted in 1687.

down before him, so he commanded them to put it on. *It was fine Linnen, white and clean.* When the Women were thus adorned they seemed to be a Terror one to the other. For that they could not see that glory each one on her self, which they could see in each other. Now therefore they began to esteem each other better than themselves. For you are fairer than I am, said one, and you are more comely than I am, said another. The Children also stood amazed to see into what fashion they were brought.

They are clothed.

True humility.

The *Interpreter* then called for a *Man-Servant* of his, [3]'one *Great-heart,*' and bid him take *Sword,* and *Helmet,* and *Shield,* and take these my Daughters, said he, and conduct them to the House called *Beautiful,* at which place they will rest next. So he took his Weapons, and went before them, and the *Interpreter* said, God speed. Those also that belonged to the Family sent them away with many a good wish. So they went on their way, and sung,

This place has been our second Stage,
Here we have heard and seen
Those good things that from Age to Age,
To others hid have been.
The Dunghill-raker, Spider, Hen,
The Chicken too to me
Hath taught a Lesson, let me then
Conformed to it be.
The Butcher, Garden, and the Field,
The Robbin, *and his bait,*
Also the Rotten-tree doth yield
Me Argument of Weight
To move me for to watch and pray,
To strive to be sincere,
To take my Cross up day by day,
And serve the Lord with fear.

[3] Inserted in 1687.

Now I saw in my Dream That they went on, and *Greatheart* went before them, so they went and came to the place where *Christians* Burthen fell off his Back, and tumbled into a Sepulchre. Here then they made a pause, and here also they blessed God. Now said *Christiana*, it comes to my mind what was said to us at the Gate, to wit, that we should have Pardon, by *Word* and *Deed;* by word, that is, by the promise; by *Deed*, to wit, in the way it was obtained. What the promise is, of that I know something: But what is it to have Pardon by deed, or in the way that it was obtained, Mr. *Great-heart*, I suppose you know; wherefore if you please let us hear you discourse thereof. *'1 part pag. 54.' [39.]*

Great-heart. Pardon by the deed done, is Pardon obtained by some one, for another that hath need thereof: Not by the Person pardoned, but in the way, *saith another*, in which I have obtained it. So then, to speak to the question more large, the pardon that you and *Mercie* and these Boys have attained, was *obtained* by another, to wit, by him that let you in at the Gate: And he hath obtain'd it in this double way. He has performed Righteousness to cover you, and spilt blood to wash you in. *A comment upon what was said at the Gate, or a discourse of our being justified by Christ.*

Chris. *But if he parts with his Righteousness to us: What will he have for himself?*

Great-heart. He has more Righteousness than you have need of, or then he needeth himself.

Chris. *Pray make that appear?*

Great-heart. With all my heart, but first I must premise that he of whom we are now about to speak, is one that has not his Fellow. He has two Natures in one Person, plain to be *distinguished*, *impossible* to be *divided*. Unto each of these Natures a Righteousness belongeth, and each Righteousness is essential to that Nature. So that one may as easily cause the Nature to be extinct, as to

[6] Inserted in 1687.

separate its Justice or Righteousness from it. Of *these* Righteousnesses therefore, we are not made partakers so, as that they, [5or] any of them, should be put upon us that we might be made just, and live thereby. Besides these there is a Righteousness which this Person has, as these two Natures are joyned in one. And this is not the Righteousness of the *God-head*, as distinguished from the *Manhood;* nor the Righteousness of the *Manhood*, as distinguished from the *God-head;* but a Righteousness which standeth in the Union of both Natures: and may properly be called, the Righteousness that is essential to his being prepared of God to the capacity of the Mediatory Office which he was to be intrusted with. If he parts with his first Righteousness, he parts with his *God-head;* if he parts with his second Righteousness, he parts with the purity of his *Manhood;* if he parts with this third, he parts with that perfection that capacitates him to the Office of Mediation. He has therefore another Righteousness which standeth in *performance*, or obedience to a revealed Will: And that is it that he puts upon Sinners, and that by which their Sins
Rom. 5. 19. are covered. Wherefore he saith, *as by one mans disobedience many were made Sinners: So by the obedience of one shall many be made Righteous.*

Chris. But are the other Righteousnesses of no use to us?

Great-heart. Yes, for though they are essential to his Natures and Office, and so cannot be communicated unto another, yet it is by Virtue of them, that the Righteousness that justifies, is for that purpose efficacious. The *Righteousness* of his *Godhead* gives *Virtue* to his Obedience; the *Righteousness* of his *Man-hood* giveth capability to his obedience to justifie, and the Righteousness that standeth in the

[5] Omitted, probably a typographical error, it was inserted in the following editions.

Union of these two Natures to his Office, giveth Authority to that Righteousness to do the work [6]of which it is ordained.

So then, here is a Righteousness that Christ, as God, has no need of, for he is God without it: here is a Righteousness that Christ, as Man, has no need of to make him so, for he is perfect Man without it. Again, here is a Righteousness that Christ as God-man has no need of, for he is perfectly so without it. Here then is a Righteousness that Christ, as God, as Man, as God-man has no need of, with Reference to himself, and therefore he can spare it, a justifying Righteousness, that he for himself wanteth not, and therefore he giveth it away. Hence 'tis called the *gift of Righteousness*. This Righteousness, since Christ Jesus the Lord, has made himself under the Law, *must* be given away: For the Law doth, not only bind him that is under it, *to do justly;* but to use Charity: Wherefore he *must*, he *ought* by the Law, if he hath two Coats, to give one to him that hath none. Now our Lord indeed hath two *Coats*, one for himself, and one to spare: Wherefore he freely bestows one upon those that have none. And thus *Christiana*, and *Mercy*, and the rest of you that are here, doth your Pardon come by *deed*, or by the work of another man? Your Lord Christ is he that has worked, [7]and has given away what he wrought for, to the next poor Begger he meets. Rom. 5. 17.

But again, in order to Pardon by *deed*, there must something be paid to God as a price, as well as something prepared to cover us withal. Sin has delivered us up to the just curse of a Righteous Law: Now from this curse we must be justified by way of Redemption, a price being paid for the harms we have done, and this is by the Blood of your Lord:

[6] 'for which,' 1687.

[7] 'and given away,' 1687.

Who came and stood in your place, and stead, and
Rom. 4. 24. died your Death for your Transgressions. Thus has
he ransomed you from your Transgressions, by
Blood, and covered your poluted and deformed
[8] Gala. 3. 13. Souls with Righteousness: For the sake of which,
God passeth by you, and will not hurt you, when
he comes to Judge the World.

Christiana *affected with this way of Redemption.*

Chris. This is brave. Now I see that there was something to be learnt by our being pardoned by word *and* deed. *Good* Mercie, *let us labour to keep this in mind, and my Children do you remember it also. But, Sir, was not this it that made my good* Christians *Burden fall from off his Shoulder, and that made him give three leaps for Joy?*

'* *How the Strings that bound Christians burden to him were cut.*'[9]

Great-heart. *Yes, 'twas the belief of this, that cut those Strings that could not be cut by other means, and 'twas to give him a proof of the Virtue of this, that he was suffered to carry his Burden to the Cross.

Chris. I thought so, for tho' my heart was lightful and joyous before, yet it is ten times more lightsome and joyous now. And I am perswaded by what I have felt, tho' I have felt but little as yet, that if the most burdened Man in the World was here, and did see and believe, as I now do, 'twould make his heart the more merry and blithe.

[9] '*How affection to Christ is begot in the Soul.*'

Great-heart. There is not only comfort, and the ease of a Burden brought to us, by the sight and Consideration of these; but an indeared Affection begot in us by it: For who can, if he doth but once think that Pardon comes, not only by promise, but thus; but be affected with the way and means of his Redemption, and so with the man that hath wrought it for him?

Chris. True, methinks it makes my Heart bleed to think that he should bleed for me. Oh! thou loving

[8] Quoted as Gala. 13. 13; and so continued in many editions.

[9] Inserted in 1687.

one, Oh! thou Blessed one. Thou deservest to have me, thou hast bought me: Thou deservest to have me all, thou hast paid for me ten thousand times more than I am worth. No marvel that this made the Water stand in my Husbands Eyes, and that it made him trudg so nimbly on. I am perswaded he wished me with him; but vile Wretch, that I was, I let him come all alone. O Mercy, *that thy Father and Mother were here, yea, and Mrs.* Timorous *also. Nay, I wish now with all my Heart, that here was Madam* Wanton *too. Surely, surely, their Hearts would be affected, nor could the fear of the one, nor the powerful Lusts of the other, prevail with them to go home again, and to refuse to become good Pilgrims.*

1 *Part. pag.* 54 [39]. 1 '*Cause of admiration.*

Great-heart. You speak now in the warmth of your Affections, will it, think you, be always thus with you? Besides, this is not communicated to every one, nor to every one that did see your Jesus bleed. There was that stood by, and that saw the Blood run from his Heart to the Ground, and yet were so far off this, that instead of lamenting, they laughed at him, and instead of becoming his Disciples, did harden their Hearts against him. So that all that you have, my Daughters, you have by a peculiar impression made by a Divine contemplating upon what I have spoken to you. Remember that 'twas told you, that the *Hen* by her common call, gives no meat to her *Chickens.* This you have therefore by a special Grace.

'*To be affected with Christ and with what he has don is a thing special.*'[1]

Now I saw still in my Dream, that they went on until they were come to the place, that *Simple,* and *Sloth,* and *Presumption,* lay and slept in, when *Christian* went by on Pilgrimage. And behold they were hanged up in Irons a little way off on the other-side.

Simple, *and* Sloth *and* Presumption *hanged, and why.*

Mercy. *Then said* Mercy *to him that was their*

[1] Inserted in 1687.



Behold here how the slothful are a signe
Hung up, cause holy ways they did decline
See here too how the Child doth play ỹ man,
And weak grow strong, when Great-heart *leads the Van.*

This cut is not in the late Mr. Wilson's copy of the the 1st edition, but is in that of 1687. It is there placed immediately after the party left the Interpreter's house, as if to show the order in which they walked, but it evidently belongs to the time when they passed the three victims to idleness.

Guide, and Conductor, What are those three men? and for what are they hanged there?

Great-heart. These three men, were Men of very bad Qualities, they had no mind to be Pilgrims themselves, and whosoever they could they hindered; they were for sloth and folly themselves, and whoever they could perswade with, they made so too, and withal taught them to presume that they should do well at last. They were asleep when *Christian* went by, and now you go by they are hanged.

Mercy. *But could they perswade any to be of their Opinion?*

Great-heart. Yes, they turned several out of the way. There was *Slow-pace* that they perswaded to do as they. They also prevailed with one *Short-wind*, with one *No-heart*, with one *Linger-after-lust*, and with one *Sleepy-head*, and with a young Woman her name was *Dull*, to turn out of the way and become as they. Besides, they brought up an ill-report of your Lord, perswading others that he was a task-Master. They also brought up an evil report of the good Land, saying, 'twas not half so good as some pretend it was: They also began to vilifie his Servants, and to count the very best of them meddlesome, troublesome busie-Bodies: Further, they would call the Bread of God *Husks;* the *Comforts* of his Children *Fancies*, the Travel and Labour of Pilgrims, things to no Purpose.

Their crimes.

'Who they prevailed upon to turn out of the way.' [2]

Chris. *Nay, said* Christiana, *if they were such, they shall never be bewailed by me, they have but what they deserve, and I think it is well that they hang so near the High-way that others may see and take warning. But had it not been well if their Crimes had been ingraven in some Plate of Iron or Brass, and left here, even where they did their Mischiefs, for a caution to other bad Men.*

[2] Inserted in 1687.

Great-heart. So it is, as you well may perceive if you will go a little to the Wall.

Mercie. *No, no, let them hang, and their Names Rot, and their Crimes live for ever against them; I think it a high favour that they were hanged afore we came hither, who knows else what they might a done to such poor Women as we are?* Then she turned it into a Song, saying,

Now then you three, hang there and be a Sign
To all that shall against the Truth combine:
And let him that comes after, fear this end,
If unto Pilgrims he is not a Friend.
And thou my Soul of all such men beware,
That unto Holiness Opposers are.

'Tis difficult getting of good Doctrine in erroneous Times.

Thus they went on till they came at the foot of the Hill *Difficulty*. Where again their good Friend, Mr. *Great-heart* took an occasion to tell them of what happened there when *Christian* himself went by. So he had them first to the Spring. *Lo*, saith he, *This is the Spring that* Christian *drank of*, before he went up this Hill, and then 'twas clear, and good; but now 'tis Dirty with the feet of some that are not desirous that Pilgrims here should quench their Thirst: Thereat *Mercy* said, *And why so envious tro?* But said their Guide, It will do, if taken up, and put into a Vessel that is sweet and good; for then the Dirt will sink to the bottom, and the Water come out by it self more clear. Thus therefore *Christiana* and her Companions were compelled to do. They took it up, and put it into an Earthen-pot, and so let it stand till the Dirt was gone to the bottom, and then they drank thereof.

1 *Part. pag.* 61 [43]. Ezek. 34. 18.

[1] *'By-paths tho barred up will not keep all from going in them.'*

Next he shewed them the two *by-ways* that were at the foot of the Hill, where *Formality* and *Hypocrisie*, lost themselves. And, said he, these are dangerous Paths: Two were here cast away when

1 *Part. pag.* 62 [44].

[1] Inserted in 1687.

Christian came by. And although, as you see, these ways are since stopt up with *Chains, Posts,* and a *Ditch:* Yet there are that will chuse to adventure here, rather than take the pains to go up this Hill.

Christiana. *The Way of Transgressors is hard.* Pro. 13. 15. *'Tis a wonder that they can get into those ways, without danger of breaking their Necks.*

Greatheart. They will venture, yea, if at any time any of the Kings Servants doth happen to see them, and doth call unto them, and tell them that *they* are in the wrong ways, and do bid them beware the danger; then they will railingly return them answer and say, *As for the Word that thou hast spoken unto us in the name of the King, we will not hearken unto thee; but we will certainly do whatsoever thing goeth out of our own Mouths,* &c. Nay if you look a little farther, you shall see that these ways, are made cautionary enough, not only by these *Posts,* and *Ditch* and *Chain;* but also by being hedged up. Yet they will choose to go there. Jer. 44. 16, 17.

Christiana. *They are Idle, they love not to take Pains, up-hill-way is unpleasant to them. So it is fulfilled unto them as it is Written. The way of the slothful man is a Hedge of Thorns. Yea, they will rather chuse to walk upon a Snare, then to go up this Hill, and the rest of this way to the City.* *'The reason why sonne do chuse to go in by-waies-'*[1] Prov. 15. 19.

Then they set forward, and began to go up the Hill, and up the Hill they went; but before they got to the top, *Christiana* began to *Pant,* and said, I dare say this is a breathing Hill; no marvel if they that love their ease more than their Souls, chuse to themselves a smoother way. Then said *Mercie,* I must sit down, also the least of the Children began to cry. Come, come, said *Great-heart,* sit not down here, for a little above is the Princes *The Hill puts the Pilgrims to it.*

[1] Inserted in 1687.

Arbour. Then took he the little Boy by the Hand, and led him up thereto.

They sit in the Arbour. 1 *Part. p.* 62. 63 [44—46]. Matt. 11. 28.

When they were come to the *Arbour*, they were very willing to sit down, for they were all in a pelting heat. Then said *Mercy*, *How sweet is rest to them that Labour?* And how good is the Prince of Pilgrims, to provide such resting places for them? Of *this Arbour* I have heard much; but I never saw it before. But here let us beware of sleeping: For as I have heard, for that it cost poor *Christian* dear.

The little Boys answer to the guide, and also to Mercy.

Then said Mr. *Great-heart* to the little ones, Come my pretty *Boys*, how do you do? what think you now of going on Pilgrimage? Sir, said the least, I was almost beat out of heart; but I thank you for lending me a hand at my need. And I remember now what my Mother has told me, namely, That the way to Heaven is as up a Ladder, and the way to Hell is as down a Hill. But I had rather go up the Ladder to Life, than down the Hill to Death.

[a] *'Which is hardest up Hill, or down Hill.'*

Then said *Mercie*, But the Proverb is, *To go down the Hill is easie:* But *James* said (for that was his Name) The day is coming when in my Opinion, *going down Hill will be the hardest of all.* 'Tis a good Boy, said his Master, thou hast given her a right answer. Then *Mercy* smiled, but the little Boy did blush.

They refresh themselves.

Chris. Come, said *Christiana*, will you eat a bit, a little to sweeten your Mouths, while you sit here to rest your Legs? For I have here a piece of Pomgranate which Mr. *Interpreter* put in my Hand, just when I came out of his Doors; he gave me also a piece of an Honey-comb, and a little Bottle of Spirits. I thought he gave you something, said *Mercy*, because he called you a to-side. Yes, so

[a] Inserted in 1687.

he did, said the other. But Mercy, It shall still be as I said it should, when at first we came from home: Thou shalt be a sharer in all the good that I have, because thou so willingly didst become my Companion. Then she gave to them, and they did eat, both *Mercy*, and the Boys. And said *Christiana* to Mr. *Great-heart*, Sir will you do as we? But he answered, You are going on Pilgrimage, and presently I shall return; much Good may what you have, do to you. At home I eat the same every day. Now when they had eaten and drank, and had chatted a little longer, their guide said to them, The day wears away, if you think good, let us prepare to be going. So they got up to go, and the little Boys went before; But *Christiana* forgat to take her Bottle of Spirits with her, so she sent her little Boy back to fetch it. Then said *Mercy*, I think this is a *losing* Place. Here *Christian* lost his *Role*, and here *Christiana* left her Bottle behind her: Sir, what is the cause of this? so their guide made answer and said, The cause is *sleep* or *forgetfulness*; some *sleep*, when they should keep *awake*; and some *forget*, when they should *remember*; and this is the very cause, why often at the resting places, some Pilgrims in some things come off losers. Pilgrims should watch and remember what they have already received under their greatest enjoyments: But for want of doing so, oft times their rejoicing ends in Tears, and their Sun-shine in a Cloud: Witness the story of *Christian* at this place.

'Christiana *forgets her Bottle of Spirits.*' [2]

Mark this.

[1] part page 65. [47.]

When they were come to the place where *Mistrust* and *Timorous* met *Christian* to perswade him to go back for fear of the Lions, they perceived as it were a Stage, and before it towards the Road, a broad plate with a Copy of Verses Written thereon, and underneath, the reason of raising up of that

[2] Inserted in 1687.

Stage in that place, rendered. The Verses were these.

Let him that sees this Stage take heed
Unto his Heart and Tongue:
Lest if he do not, here he speed
As some have long agone.

The words underneath the Verses were, *This Stage was built to punish such upon, who through* Timorousness *or* Mistrust, *shall be afraid to go further on Pilgrimage. Also on this Stage both* Mistrust *and* Timorous *were burned thorough the Tongue with an hot Iron, for endeavouring to hinder* Christian *in his Journey.*

Then said *Mercy*. This is much like to the saying of the beloved, *What shall be given unto thee? or what shall be done unto thee thou false Tongue? sharp Arrows of the mighty, with Coals of* Juniper.

Psal. 120. 3, 4.

So they went on, till they came within sight of the Lions. Now Mr. *Great-heart* was a strong man, so he was not afraid of a Lion: But yet when they were come up to the place where the Lions were, the Boys that went before, were glad to cringe behind, for they were afraid of the Lions, so they stept back and went behind. At this their guide smiled, and said, How now my Boys, do you love to go before when no danger doth approach, and love to come behind so soon as the Lions appear?

1 *Part pag.* 69. [49.]

An Emblem of those that go on bravely, when there is no danger; but shrink when troubles come.

Now as they went up, Mr. *Great-heart* drew his Sword with intent to make a way for the Pilgrims in spite of the Lions. Then there appeared one, that it seems, had taken upon him to back the Lions. And he said to the Pilgrims guide, What is the cause of your coming hither? Now the name of that man was [1] '*Grim*, or' *Bloody-man*, be-

Of Grim *the* Giant, *and of his backing the Lions.*

[1] Inserted in 1687.

cause of his slaying of Pilgrims, and he was of the race of the *Giants*.

Great-heart. Then said the *Pilgrims* guide, these Women and Children, are going on Pilgrimage, and this is the way they must go, and go it they shall in spite of thee and the Lions.

Grim. This is not their way, neither shall they go therein. I am come forth to withstand them, and to that end will back the Lions.

Now to say truth, by reason of the fierceness of the Lions, and of the *Grim* Carriage of him that did back them, this way had of late lain much un-occupied, and was almost all grown over with Grass.

Christiana. Then said *Christiana*, tho' the High-ways have[2] a been un-occupied heretofore, and tho' the Travellers have been made in time past, to walk thorough by-Paths, it must not be so now I am risen, *Now I am Risen a Mother in* Israel. Judg. 5. 6, 7.

Grim. Then he swore *by the Lions*, but it should; and therefore bid them turn aside, for they should not have passage there.

Great-heart. But their guide made first his Approach unto *Grim*, and laid so heavily at him with his Sword, that he forced him to a retreat.

Grim. Then said he (that attempted to back the Lions) will you slay me upon mine own Ground?

Great-heart. 'Tis the Kings High-way that we are in, and in his way it is that thou hast placed thy Lions; but these Women, and these Children, tho' weak, shall hold on their way in spite of thy Lions. And with that he gave him again, a down-right blow, and brought him upon his Knees. With this blow he also broke his Helmet, and with the next he cut off an Arm. Then did the *Giant Roar* so hideously, that his Voice frighted the Women, and

'*A fight betwixt* Grim *and* Great-heart.'[3]

[2] Corrected to 'have been,' 1687. [3] Inserted in 1687.

'The Victory.' yet they were glad to see him lie sprawling upon the Ground. Now the Lions were chained, and so of themselves could do nothing. Wherefore when old *Grim* that intended to back them was dead, Mr. *Great-heart* said to the Pilgrims, Come now and follow me, and no hurt shall happen to you from the Lions. They therefore went on; but the Women trembled as they passed by them, the Boys also look't as if they would die; but they all got by without further hurt.

'They pass by the Lyons.'

Now then they were within Sight of the *Porters* Lodg, and they soon came up unto it; but they made the more haste after this to go thither, because 'tis dangerous travelling there in the Night. So when they were come to the Gate, the guide knocked, and the Porter cried, *who is there?* but as soon as the Guide had said, *it is I*, he knew his Voice and came down. (For the Guide had oft before that, come thither as a Conductor of Pilgrims) when he was come down, he opened the Gate, and seeing the Guide standing just before it (for he saw not the Women, for they were behind him) he said unto him, How now, Mr. *Great-heart*, what is your business here so late to Night? I have brought, said he, some Pilgrims hither, where by my Lords Commandment, they must Lodg. I had been here some time ago, had I not been opposed by the Giant that did use to back the Lyons. But I after a long and tedious combate with him, have cut him off, and have brought the Pilgrims hither in safety.

'They come to the Porters Lodge.'

Porter. *Will you not go in, and stay till Morning?*

'Great-heart attempts to go back.'

Great-heart. No, I will return to my Lord to night.

'The Pilgrims implore his company still.'

Christiana. Oh Sir, I know not how to be willing you should leave us in our Pilgrimage, you have

[4] Inserted in 1687.

been so faithful, and so loving to us, you have fought so stoutly for us, you have been so hearty in counselling of us, that I shall never forget your favour towards us.

Mercie. Then said *Mercie*, O that we might have thy Company to our Journeys end! How can such poor Women as we, hold out in a way so full of Troubles as this way is, without a Friend, and Defender?

James. Then said *James*, the youngest of the Boys, Pray Sir, be perswaded to go with us, and help us, because we are so weak, and the way so dangerous as it is.

Great-heart. I am at my Lords Commandment. If he shall allot me to be your Guide quite thorough, I will willingly wait upon you; but here you failed at first; for when he bid me come thus far with you, then you should have begged me of him to have gon quite thorough with you, and he would have granted your request. However, at present I must withdraw, and so good *Christiana*, *Mercy*, and my brave Children, Adieu. *Help lost for want of asking for.*

Then the Porter, Mr. *Watchful*, asked *Christiana* of her Country, and of her Kindred, and she said, *I came from the City of* Destruction, *I am a Widdow Woman, and my Husband is dead, his Name was* Christian *the Pilgrim*. How, said the Porter, was he your Husband? Yes, said she, and these are his Children; and this, pointing to *Mercy*, is one of my Towns Women. Then the Porter rang his Bell, as at such times he is wont, and there came to the Door one of the Damsels, whose Name was *humble-mind*. And to her the Porter said, Go tell it within that *Christiana* the Wife of *Christian* and her Children are come hither on Pilgrimage. She went in therefore and told it. But Oh, what a [1] 1 Part pag. 70. [49.] *'Christiana makes her self known to the Porter, he tells it to a damsel.'* [6] *'Joy at the noise of the Pilgrims coming.'* [6]

[6] Inserted in 1687.

Noise for gladness was there within, when the Damsel did but drop that word out of her Mouth?

So they came with haste to the Porter, for *Christiana* stood still at the Door; then some of the most grave, said unto her, *Come in* Christiana, *come in thou Wife of that Good Man, come in thou Blessed Woman, come in with all that are with thee.* So she went in, and they followed her that were her Children, and her Companions. Now when they were gone in, they were had into a very large Room, where they were bidden to sit down: So they sat down, and the chief of the House was called to see, and welcome the Guests. Then they came in, and, understanding who they were, did Salute each other with a kiss, and said, Welcome ye Vessels of the Grace of God, welcome to us your Friends.

Christians love is kindled at the sight of one another.

Now because it was somewhat late, and because the Pilgrims were weary with their Journey, and also made faint with the sight of the Fight, and of the terrible Lyons: Therefore they desired as soon as might be, to prepare to go to Rest. Nay, said those of the Family, refresh your selves first with a morsel of Meat. For they had prepared for them a Lamb, with the accustomed Sauce belonging thereto. For the Porter had heard before of their coming, and had told it to them within. So when they had Supped, and ended their Prayer with a Psalm, they desired they might go to rest. But let us, said *Christiana*, if we may be so bold as to chuse, be in that Chamber that was my Husbands, when he was here. So they had them up thither, and they lay all in a Room. When they were at Rest, *Christiana* and *Mercy* entred into discourse about things that were convenient.

Exo. 12. 38.

Joh. 1. 29.

1 *Part. pag.* 82 [59].

Christs Bosome is for all Pilgrims.

Chris. *Little did I think once, that when my Husband went on Pilgrimage, I should ever a followed.*

Mercy. And you as little thought of lying in his Bed, and in his Chamber to Rest, as you do now.

Chris. *And much less did I ever think of seeing his Face with Comfort, and of Worshipping the Lord the King with him, and yet now I believe I shall.*

Mercy. Hark, don't you hear a Noise?

Christiana. Yes, 'tis as I believe, a Noise of Musick, for Joy that we are here.

Mer. Wonderful! Musick in the House, Musick in the Heart, and Musick also in Heaven, for joy that we are here. *Musick.*

Thus they talked a while, and then betook themselves to sleep; so in the Morning, when they were awake, *Christiana* said to *Mercy.*

Chris. *What was the matter that you did laugh in your sleep to Night? I suppose you was in a Dream?* '*Mercy did laugh in her sleep.*'[7]

Mercy. So I was, and a sweet Dream it was; but are you sure I laughed?

Christiana, *Yes, you laughed heartily; but prethee* Mercy *tell me thy Dream?*

Mercy. I was a Dreamed that I sat all alone in a solitary place, and was bemoaning of the hardness of my Heart. *Mercy's Dream.*

Now I had not sat there long, but methought many were gathered about me, to see me, and to hear what it was that I said. So they harkened, and I went on bemoaning the hardness of my Heart. At this, some of them laughed at me, some called me Fool, and some began to thrust me about. With that, methought I looked up, and saw one coming with Wings towards me. So he came directly to me, and said, *Mercy*, what aileth thee? Now when he had heard me make my complaint; he said, *Peace be to thee:* He also wiped mine Eyes with his Hankerchief, and *clad* me in *Silver and Gold;* he put a Chain about my Neck, and Ear-rings in mine Ears, and a beautiful Crown upon my '*What her dream was.*'[7] Ezek. 16. 8, 9, 10, 11.

[7] Inserted in 1687.

Head. Then he took me by the Hand, and said, *Mercy*, come after me. So he went up, and I followed, till we came at a Golden Gate. Then he knocked, and when they within had opened, the man went in and I followed him up to a Throne, upon which one sat, and he said to me, *welcome Daughter*. The place looked bright, and twinkling like the Stars, or rather like the *Sun*, and I thought that I saw your Husband there, so I awoke from my Dream. But did I laugh?

Christiana. *Laugh! Ay, and well you might to see your self so well. For you must give me leave to tell you, that I believe it was a good Dream, and that as you have begun to find the first part true, so you shall find the second at last.* God speaks once, yea twice, yet Man perceiveth it not. In a Dream, in a Vision of the Night, when deep Sleep falleth upon men, in slumbring upon the Bed. *We need not, when a-Bed, lie awake to talk with God; he can visit us while we sleep, and cause us then to hear his Voice. Our Heart oft times wakes when we sleep, and God can speak to that, either by Words, by Proverbs, by Signs, and Similitudes, as well as if one was awake.*

Job. 33. 14, 15.

'Mercy glad of her dream.[2]'

Mercy. Well, I am glad of my Dream, for I hope ere long to see it fulfilled, to the making of me laugh again.

Christiana. *I think it is now high time to rise, and to know what we must do?*

Mercy. Pray, if they invite us to stay a while, let us willingly accept of the proffer. I am the willinger to stay a while here, to grow better acquainted with these Maids; methinks *Prudence*, *Piety* and *Charity*, have very comly and sober Countenances.

Chris. *We shall see what they will do.* So when they were up and ready, they came down. And

[2] Inserted in 1687.

they asked one another of their rest, and if it was Comfortable, or not?

Mer. *Very good, said* Mercy, *it was one of the best Nights Lodging that ever I had in my Life.*

Then said *Prudence*, and *Piety*, if you will be perswaded to stay here awhile, you shall have what the House will afford. *They stay here some time.*

Charity. *Ay, and that with a very good will, said* Charity. So they consented, and stayed there about a Month or above: And became very Profitable one to another. And because *Prudence* would see how *Christiana* had brought up her Children, she asked leave of her to Catechise them? So she gave her free consent. Then she began at the youngest whose Name was *James.* [2] *Prudence desires to catechise Christianas Children.*

Pru. *And she said, Come* James, *canst thou tell who made thee?* James *Catechised.*

Jam. God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy-Ghost.

Pru. Good Boy. And canst thou tell who saves thee?

Jam. God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost.

Pru. *Good Boy still. But how doth God the Father save thee?*

Jam. By his Grace.

Pru. *How doth God the Son save thee?*

Jam. By his Righteousness, Death, and Blood, and Life.

Pru. *And how doth God the Holy Ghost save thee?*

Jam. By his *Illumination*, by his *Renovation*, and by his *Preservation.*

Then said *Prudence* to *Christiana*, You are to be commended for thus bringing up your Children. I suppose I need not ask the rest these Questions, since the youngest of them can answer them so

[2] Inserted in 1687.

well. I will therefore now apply my self to the Youngest next.

Joseph *Catechised.* *Prudence.* Then she said, Come *Joseph*, (for his Name was *Joseph*) will you let me Catechise you?

Joseph. with all my Heart.

Pru. What is Man?

Joseph. A Reasonable Creature, so made by God, as my Brother said.

Pru. *What is supposed by this Word, saved?*

Joseph. That man by Sin has brought himself into a State of Captivity and Misery.

Pru. *What is supposed by his being saved by the Trinity?*

Joseph. That Sin is so great and mighty a Tyrant, that none can pull us out of its clutches but God, and that God is so good and loving to man, as to pull him indeed out of this Miserable State.

Pru. *What is Gods design in saving of poor Men?*

Joseph. The glorifying of his Name, of his Grace, and Justice, *&c.* And the everlasting Happiness of his Creature.

Pru. *Who are they that must be saved?*

Joseph. Those that accept of his Salvation.

Good Boy, *Joseph*, thy Mother has taught thee well, and thou hast harkened to what she has said unto thee.

Then said *Prudence* to *Samuel*, who was the eldest but one.

Samuel *Catechised.* *Prudence.* Come *Samuel*, are you willing that I should Catechise you also?

Sam. Yes, forsooth, if you please.

Pru. *What is Heaven?*

Sam. A [3]place and State most blessed, because God dwelleth there.

Pru. *What is Hell?*

[3] 'A palace,' 1687; and so in 1693; very probably a typographical error; it was restored to 'place' in 1708.

Sam. A Place and State most woful, because it is the dwelling place of Sin, the Devil, and Death.

Prudence. *Why wouldest thou go to Heaven?*

Sam. That I may see God, and serve him without weariness; that I may see Christ, and love him everlastingly; that I may have that fulness of the Holy Spirit in me, that I can by no means here enjoy.

Pru. *A very good Boy also, and one that has learned well.*

Then she addressed her self to the eldest, whose Name was *Mathew*, and she said to him, Come *Mathew*, shall I also Catechise you?

Mathew Catechised.

Mat. *With a very good Will.*

Pru. *I ask then, if there was ever any thing that had a being, Antecedent to, or before God?*

Mat. No, for God is Eternal, nor is there any thing excepting himself, that had a being until the beginning of the first day. *For in six days the Lord made Heaven and Earth, the Sea and all that in them is.*

Pru. *What do you think of the Bible?*

Mat. It is the Holy Word of God.

Pru. *Is there nothing Written therein, but what you understand?*

Mat. Yes, a great deal.

Pru. *What do you do when you meet with such places therein, that you do not understand?*

Mat. I think God is wiser than I. I pray also that he will please to let me know all therein that he knows will be for my good.

Pru. *How believe you as touching the Resurrection of the Dead?*

Mat. I believe they shall rise, the same that was buried: the same in *Nature*, tho' not in Corruption. And I believe this upon a double account. First because God has promised it. Secondly, because he is able to perform it.

Then said *Prudence* to the Boys, You must still harken to your Mother, for she can learn you more. You must also diligently give ear to what good talk you shall hear from others, for for your sakes do they speak good things. Observe also and that with carefulness, what the Heavens and the Earth do teach you; but especially be much in the Meditation of that Book that was the cause of your Fathers becoming a Pilgrim. I for my part, my Children, will teach you what I can while you are here, and shall be glad if you will ask me Questions that tend to Godly edifying.

'Prudences conclusion upon the Catechising of the Boys.'[5]

Now by that these Pilgrims had been at this place a week, *Mercy* had a Visitor that pretended some good Will unto her, and his name was Mr. *Brisk*. A man of some breeding, and that pretended to Religion; but a man that stuck very close to the World. So he came once or twice, or more to *Mercy*, and offered love unto her. Now *Mercy* was of a fair Countenance, and therefore the more alluring.

Mercy has a sweet-heart.

Her mind also was, to be always busying of her self in doing, for when she had nothing to do for her self, she would be making of Hose and Garments for others, and would bestow them upon them that had need. And Mr. *Brisk* not knowing where or how she disposed of what she made, seemed to be greatly taken, for that he found her never Idle. I will warrant her a good Huswife, quoth he to himself.

'Mercies temper.'[5]

Mercy then revealed the business to the Maidens that were of the House, and enquired of them concerning him: for they did know him better than she. So they told her that he was a very busie Young Man, and one that pretended to Religion; but was as they feared, a stranger to the Power of that which was good.

'Mercy enquires of the Maids concerning Mr. Brisk.'[5]

[5] Inserted in 1687.

Nay then, said Mercy, *I will look no more on him, for I purpose never to have a clog to my Soul.*

Prudence then replied, That there needed no great matter of discouragement to be given to him, her continuing so as she had began to do for the Poor, would quickly cool his Courage.

So the next time he comes, he finds her at her old work, a making of things for the Poor. Then said he, What, always at it? Yes, said she, either for my self or for others. And what canst [6]thee *earn* a day, quoth he? I do these things, said she, *That I may be Rich in good Works, laying up in store a good Foundation against the time to come, that I may lay hold on Eternal Life:* Why prethee what dost thou with them? said he. Cloath the naked, said she. With that his Countenance fell. So he forbore to come at her again. And when he was asked the reason why, he said, *That* Mercy *was a pretty lass, but troubled with ill Conditions.*

'Talk betwixt Mercy and Mr. Brisk.'[5]

1 Tim. 6. 17 18, 19.

He forsakes her, and why.

When he had left her, *Prudence* said, Did I not tell thee that Mr. *Brisk* would soon forsake thee? yea he will raise up an ill report of thee: For notwithstanding his pretence to Religion, and his seeming love to *Mercy*: Yet *Mercy* and he are of tempers so different, that I believe they will never come together.

Mercy *in the Practise of* Mercy *rejected; while* Mercy *in the Name of* Mercy *is liked.*

Mercy. *I might a had Husbands afore now, tho' I spake not of it to any; but they were such as did not like my Conditions, tho' never did any of them find fault with my Person: So they and I could not agree.*

Prudence. Mercy in our days is little set by, any further than as to its Name: the Practice, which is set forth by thy Conditions, there are but few that can abide.

Mercy. *Well, said* Mercy, *if no body will have me, I will dye a Maid, or my Conditions shall be to me as a Husband. For I cannot change my Nature, and to*

'Mercy's resolution.'[7]

[6] 'canst thou,' 1687.

[7] Inserted in 1687.

have one that lies cross to me in this, that I purpose never to admit of, as long as I live. I had a Sister named Bountiful, *that was married to one of these Churles; but he and she could never agree; but because my Sister was resolved to do as she had began, that is, to shew Kindness to the Poor, therefore her Husband first cried her down at the Cross, and then turned her out of his Doors.*

'How Mercy's Sister was served by her Husband.'[8]

Pru. And yet he was a Professor, I warrant you?

Mer. *Yes, such a one as he was, and of such as he, the World is now full; but I am for none of them all.*

* Now *Mathew* the eldest Son of *Christiana*, fell Sick, and his Sickness was sore upon him, for he was much pained in his Bowels, so that he was with it, at times, pulled as 'twere both ends together. There dwelt also not far from thence, one Mr. *Skill*, an Antient, and well approved Physician. So *Christiana* desired it, and they sent for him, and he came. When he was entred the Room, and had a little observed the Boy, he concluded that he was sick of the Gripes. Then he said to his Mother, *What Diet has* Matthew *of late fed upon?* Diet, said *Christiana*, nothing but that which is wholsome. * The Physician answered, *This Boy has been tampering with something that lies in his Maw undigested, and that will not away without means.* And I tell you he must be purged, or else he will dye.

* 'Matthew falls sick.'[8]

Gripes of Conscience.

'* The Physicians Judgment.'[8]

Samuel. Then said *Samuel, Mother, Mother, what was that which my Brother did gather up and eat, so soon as we were come from the Gate, that is at the head of this way? You know that there was an Orchard on the left hand, on the otherside of the Wall, and some of the Trees hung over the Wall, and my Brother did* [9]*plash and did eat.*

'Samuel puts his Mother in mind of the fruit his Brother did eat.'[8]

Christiana. True my Child, said *Christiana*, he did take thereof and did eat; naughty Boy as

[8] Inserted in 1687.

[9] 'did pluck,' 1687, see page 233.

he was, I did chide him, and yet he would eat thereof.

Skill. *I knew he had eaten something that was not wholsome Food. And that Food, to wit, that Fruit, is even the most hurtful of all. It is the Fruit of* Beelzebubs Orchard. I do marvel that none did warn you of it; many have died thereof.

Christiana. Then *Christiana* began to cry, and she said, O naughty Boy, and O careless Mother what shall I do for my Son?

Skill. *Come, do not be too much Dejected; the Boy may do well again; but he must purge and Vomit.*

Christiana. Pray Sir try the utmost of your Skill with him whatever it costs.

Skill. *Nay, I hope I shall be reasonable:* So he made him a Purge; but it was too weak. 'Twas said, it was made of the Blood of a Goat, the Ashes of an [1]Heiffer, and with some of the Juice of Hyssop, *&c.* When Mr. *Skill* had seen that that Purge was too weak, he made him one to the Purpose, 'Twas made *Ex Carne & Sanguine Christi.* (You know Physicians give strange Medicines to their Patients) and it was made up into Pills with a Promise or two, and a proportionable quantity of Salt. Now he was to take them three at a time fasting, in half a quarter of a Pint of the Tears of Repentance. When this potion was prepared, and brought to the Boy,* he was loth to take it, tho' torn with the Gripes, as if he should be pulled in pieces. *Come, come, said the Physician, you must take it.* It goes against my Stomach, said the Boy. *I must have you take it, said his Mother.* I shall Vomit it up again, said the Boy. Pray Sir, said *Christiana* to Mr. *Skill*, how does it taste? It has no ill taste, said the Doctor, and with that she touched one of the pills with the tip

Heb. 10. 1, 2, 3, 4.

'*Potion prepared.*[2]'

John 6. 54, 55, 56, 57. Mark 9. 49.

The Lattine I borrow.

Heb. 9. 14.

'* *The boy loth to take the Physick.*'[2]

Zech. 12. 10.

[1] 'a Heifer,' 1687.

[2] Inserted in 1687.

'The Mother tasts it, and perswades him.' [9] of her Tongue. Oh, *Mathew*, said she, this potion is sweeter than Hony. If thou lovest thy Mother, if thou lovest thy Brothers, if thou lovest *Mercy*, if thou lovest thy Life, take it. So with much ado, after a short Prayer for the blessing of God upon it; he took it; and it wrought kindly with him. It caused him to purge, it caused him to sleep, and rest quietly, it put him into a fine heat and breathing sweat, and did quite rid him of his Gripes.

'A word of God in the hand of his Faith.' [9] So in little time he got up, and walked about with a Staff, and would go from Room to Room, and talk with *Prudence*, *Piety*, and *Charity* of his Distemper, and how he was healed.

Heb. 13. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. So when the Boy was healed, *Christiana* asked Mr. *Skill*, saying, Sir, what will content you for your pains and care to and of my Child? And he said, you must pay the *Master of the Colledge* of Physicians, according to rules made, in that case, and provided.

Chris. *But Sir, said she, what is this Pill good for else?*

This Pill an Universal Remedy. *Skill.* It is an universal Pill, 'tis good against all the Diseases that Pilgrims are incident to, and when it is well prepared, it will keep good, *time* out of *mind*.

Christiana. Pray Sir, make me up twelve Boxes of them: For if I can get these, I will never take other Physick.

Skill. These *Pills* are good to prevent Diseases, as well as to *cure* when one is Sick. Yea, I dare say it, and stand to it, that if a Man will but use this Physick as he should, *it will make him live for* Joh. 6. 50. *ever*. But, good *Christiana*, thou must give these *In a Glass of the Tears of Repentance.* Pills, *no other way;* but as I have prescribed: For if you do, they will do no good. So he gave unto *Christiana* Physick for her self, and her Boys, and

[9] Inserted in 1687.

for *Mercy:* and bid *Mathew* take heed how he eat any more *Green Plums*, and kist them and went his way.

It was told you before, that *Prudence* bid the Boys, that if at any time they would, they should ask her some Questions, that might be profitable, and she would say something to them.

Mat. Then *Mathew* who had been sick, asked her, *Why for the most part Physick should be bitter to our Palats?* *Of Physick.*

Pru. To shew how unwelcome the word of God, and the Effects thereof are to a Carnal Heart.

Mathew. *Why does Physick, if it does good, Purge, and cause that we Vomit?* *Of the Effects of Physick.*

Prudence. To shew that the Word when it works effectually, cleanseth the Heart and Mind. For look what the one doth to the Body, the other doth to the Soul.

Mathew. *What should we learn by seeing the Flame of our Fire go upwards? and by seeing the Beams, and sweet Influences of the Sun strike downwards?* *Of Fire and of the Sun.*

Prudence. By the going up of the Fire, we are taught to ascend to Heaven, by fervent and hot desires. And by the Sun his sending his Heat, Beams, and sweet Influences downwards, we are taught, that the Saviour of the World, tho' high, reaches down with his Grace and Love to us below.

Mathew. *Where have the Clouds their Water?* *Of the Clouds.*

Pru. Out of the Sea.

Mathew. *What may we learn from that?*

Pru. That Ministers should fetch their Doctrine from God.

Mat. *Why do they empty themselves upon the Earth?*

Prudence. To shew that Ministers should give out what they know of God to the World.

Mat. *Why is the Rainbow caused by the Sun?* *Of the Rainbow.*

Prudence. To shew that the Covenant of Gods Grace is confirmed to us in Christ.

Mathew. *Why do the Springs come from the Sea to us, thorough the Earth.*

Prudence. To shew that the Grace of God comes to us thorough the Body of Christ.

Of the Springs. Mathew. *Why do some of the Springs rise out of the tops of high Hills?*

Prudence. To shew that the Spirit of Grace shall spring up in *some* that are Great, and Mighty, as well as in *many* that are Poor and low.

Of the Candle. Mat. *Why doth the Fire fasten upon the Candle-wick?*

Prudence. To shew that unless Grace doth kindle upon the Heart, there will be no true Light of Life in us.

Mathew. *Why is the Wick and Tallow and all, spent to maintain the light of the Candle?*

Prudence. To shew that Body and Soul and all, should be at the Service of, and spend themselves to maintain in good Condition that Grace of God that is in us.

Of the Pelican. Mathew. *Why doth the Pelican pierce her own Brest with her Bill?*

Prudence. To nourish her Young ones with her Blood, and thereby to shew that Christ the blessed, so loveth his Young, his People, as to save them from Death by his Blood.

Of the Cock. Mat. *What may one learn by hearing the Cock to Crow?*

Prudence. Learn to remember *Peter's* Sin, and *Peter's* Repentance. The Cocks crowing shews also that day is coming on, let then the crowing of the Cock put thee in mind of that last and terrible Day of Judgment.

Now about this time their Month was out, wherefore they signified to those of the House, that 'twas convenient for them to up and be going. Then

said *Joseph* to his Mother, It is convenient that you forget not to send to the House of Mr. *Interpreter*, to pray him to grant that Mr. *Great-heart* should be sent unto us, that he may be our Conductor the rest of our way. Good *Boy*, said she, I had almost forgot. So she drew up a Petition, and prayed Mr. *Watchful* the Porter to send it by some fit man to her good Friend Mr. *Interpreter;* who when it was come, and he had seen the contents of the Petition, said to the Messenger, Go tell them that I will send him.

The weak may sometimes call the strong to Prayers.

When the Family where *Christiana* was, saw that they had a purpose to go forward, they called the whole House together to give thanks to their King, for sending of them such profitable Guests as these. Which done they said to *Christiana*, And shall we not shew thee something, according as our Custom is to do to Pilgrims, on which thou mayest meditate when thou art upon the way? So they took *Christiana*, her Children, and *Mercy* into the Closet, and shewed them one of the *Apples* that *Eve* did eat of, and that she also did give to her Husband, and that for the eating of which they both were turned out of Paradice, and asked her what she thought that was? Then *Christiana* said, *'Tis Food or Poyson*, I know not which; so they opened the matter to her, and she held up her hands and wondered?

'They provide to be gone on their way.' [1]

'Eves Apple.' [1]

A sight of Sin is amazing.

Gen. 3. 6. Ro. 7. 24.

Then they had her to a Place, and shewed her *Jacob's Ladder*. Now at that time there were some Angels ascending upon it. So *Christiana* looked and looked, to see the Angels go up, and so did the rest of the Company. Then they were going into another place to shew them something else: But *James* said to his Mother, Pray bid them stay here a little longer, for this is a curious sight. So they turned again, and stood feeding their Eyes with this *so pleasant a Prospect*. After this they had them

'Jacob's Ladd.r.' [1]

A sight of Christ is taking!

Gen. 28. 12.

[1] Inserted in 1687.

'*Golden Anchor.*'[7] into a Place where did hang up a *Golden Anchor*, so they bid *Christiana* take it down; for, said they, you shall have it with you, for 'tis of absolute necessity that you should, that you may lay hold of that within the vail, and stand stedfast, in case you should meet with turbulent weather: So they were glad thereof. Then they took them, and had them to the mount upon which *Abraham* our Father, had offered up *Isaac* his Son, and shewed them the *Altar*, the *Wood*, the *Fire*, and the *Knife*, for they remain to be seen to this very Day. When they had seen it, they held up their hands and blest themselves, and said, Oh! What a man, for love to his Master, and for denial to himself was *Abraham?* After they had shewed them all these things, *Prudence* took them into the Dining-Room, where stood a pair of Excellent Virginals, so she played upon them, and turned what she had shewed them into this excellent Song, saying,

Joh. 1. 51.

Heb. 6. 19.

'*Of* Abraham *offering up* Isaac.'[7]

Gen. 22. 9.

'Prudences *Virginals.*'[7]

Eve's *Apple we have shewed you,*
Of that be you aware:
You have seen Jacob's *Ladder too,*
Upon which Angels are.
An Anchor you received have;
But let not these suffice,
Until with Abra'm *you have gave*
Your best, a Sacrifice.

Now about this time one knocked at the Door, So the Porter opened, and behold Mr. *Great-heart* was there; but when he was come in, what Joy was there? For it came now fresh again into their minds, how but a while ago he had slain old *Grim Bloody-man*, the Giant, and had delivered them from the Lions.

Mr. Great-heart *come again.*

Then said Mr. *Great-heart* to *Christiana*, and to

[7] Inserted in 1687.

Mercy, My Lord has sent each of you a Bottle of Wine, and also some parched Corn, together with a couple of Pomgranates. He has also sent the Boys some Figs, and Raisins to refresh you in your way. *'He brings a token from his Lord with him.'* [s]

Then they addressed themselves to their Journey, and *Prudence*, and *Piety* went along with them. When they came at the Gate *Christiana* asked the Porter, if any of late went by. He said, No, only one some time since: who also told me that of late there had been a great Robbery committed on the Kings High-way, as you go: But he saith, the Thieves are taken, and will shortly be Tryed for their Lives. Then *Christiana*, and *Mercy* was afraid; but *Mathew* said, Mother fear nothing, as long as Mr. *Great-heart* is to go with us, and to be our Conductor. *'Robbery.'* [s]

Then said *Christiana* to the Porter, Sir, I am much obliged to you for all the Kindnesses that you have shewed me since I came hither; and also for that you have been so loving and kind to my Children. I know not how to gratifie your Kindness: Wherefore pray as a token of my respects to you, accept of this small mite: So she put a Gold Angel in his Hand, and he made her a low obeysance, and said, Let thy Garments be always White, and let thy Head want no Ointment. Let *Mercy* live and not die, and let not her Works be few. And to the Boys he said, Do you fly Youthful lusts, and follow after Godliness with them that are Grave, and Wise, so shall you put Gladness into your Mothers Heart, and obtain Praise of all that are sober minded. So they thanked the Porter and departed. *'Christiana takes her leave of the Porter.'* [s] *'The Porters blessing.'* [s]

Now I saw in my Dream, that they went forward until they were come to the Brow of the Hill, where *Piety* bethinking her self cried out, *Alas!* I have

[s] Inserted in 1687.

forgot what I intended to bestow upon *Christiana*, and her Companions. I will go back and fetch it. So she ran, and fetched it. While she was gone, *Christiana* thought she heard in a Grove a little way off, on the Right-hand, a most curious Melodious Note, with Words much like these,

Through all my Life thy Favour is
So frankly shew'd to me.
That in thy House for evermore
My dwelling place shall be.

And listening still she thought she heard another answer it, saying,

For why, The Lord our God is good,
His Mercy is forever sure:
His Truth at all times firmly stood:
And shall from Age to Age endure.

So *Christiana* asked *Prudence*, what 'twas that made those curious Notes? They are, said she, our Countrey Birds: They sing these Notes but seldom, except it be at the Spring, when the Flowers appear, and the Sun shines warm, and then you may hear them all day long. I often, said she, go out to hear them, we also oft times keep them tame in our House. They are very fine Company for us when we are *Melancholy*, also they make the Woods, and Groves, and Solitary places, places desirous to be in.

Song 2. 11. 12.

'Piety *bestoweth something on them at parting.*'[3]

By this Time *Piety* was come again, so she said to *Christiana*, look here, I have brought thee a *Scheme* of all those things that thou hast seen at our House: Upon which thou mayest look when thou findest thy self forgetful, and call those things again to remembrance for thy Edification, and comfort.

[3] Inserted in 1687.

Now they began to go down the Hill into the Valley of *Humiliation*. It was a steep Hill, and the way was slippery; but they were very careful, so they got down pretty well. When they were down in the Valley, *Piety* said to *Christiana*, This is the place where *Christian* your Husband met with the foul Fiend, *Apollion*, and where they had that dreadful fight that they had. I know you cannot but have heard thereof. But be of good Courage, as long you have here Mr. *Great-heart* to be your Guide and Conductor, we hope you will fare the better. So when these two had committed the Pilgrims unto the Conduct of their Guide, he went forward and they went after. *1 Part pag. 88. [62.]*

Great-heart. Then said Mr. *Great-heart*, We need not to be so afraid of this Valley: For here is nothing to hurt us, unless we procure it to our selves. 'Tis true, *Christian* did here meet with *Apollion*, with whom he also had a sore Combate; but that *frey* was the fruit of those slips that he got in his going down the Hill. For they that get *slips there*, must look for *Combats here*. And hence it is that this Valley has got so hard a name. For the common People when they hear that some frightful thing has befallen such an one in such a place, are of an Opinion that that place is haunted with some foul Fiend, or evil Spirit; when alas it is for the fruit of their doing, that such things do befal them there. *'Mr. Great-heart at the Valley of Humiliation.'* [4] *1 Part pag. 88. [62.]*

This Valley of *Humiliation* is of it self as fruitful a place, as any the Crow flies over; and I am perswaded if we could hit upon it, we might find somewhere here abouts something that might give us an account why *Christian* was so hardly beset in this place. *'The reason why Christian was so beset here.'* [4]

Then *James* said to his Mother, Lo, yonder stands a Pillar, and it looks as if something was Written thereon: let us go and see what it is. So they *A Pillar with an Inscription on it.*

[4] Inserted in 1687.

went, and found there Written, *Let* Christian's *slips before he came hither, and the Battles that he met with in this place, be a warning to those that come after.* Lo, said their Guide, did not I tell you, that there was something here abouts that would give Intimation of the reason why *Christian* was so hard beset in this place? Then turning himself to *Christiana*, he said: No disparagement to *Christian* more than to many others, whose Hap and Lot his was. For 'tis easier going *up*, than *down this* Hill; and that can be said but of few Hills in all these parts of the World. But we will leave the good Man, he is at rest, he also had a brave Victory over his Enemy; let him grant that dwelleth above, that we fare no worse when we come to be tryed then he.

'*This Valley a brave place.*'[3]

But we will come again to this Valley of *Humiliation*. It is the best, and most fruitful piece of Ground in all those parts. It is fat Ground, and as you see, consisteth much in Meddows: and if a man was to come here in the Summer-time as we do now, if he knew not any thing before, thereof; and if he also delighted himself in the sight of his Eyes, he might see that that would be delightful to him. Behold, how green this Valley is, also how beautified *with Lillies*. I have also known many labouring Men that have got good Estates in this Valley of *Humiliation*. (For God resisteth the Proud; but gives *more, more* Grace to the Humble) for indeed it is a very fruitful Soil, and doth bring forth by handfuls. Some also have wished that the next way to their Fathers House were here, that they might be troubled no more with either Hills or Mountains to go over; but the way is the way, and theres an end.

Song, 2. 1.
Jam. 4. 6.
1 Pet. 5. 5.
Men thrive in the Valley of Humiliation.

Now as they were going along and talking, they espied a Boy feeding his Fathers Sheep. The Boy

[3] Inserted in 1687.

was in very mean Cloaths, but of a very fresh and welfavoured Countenance, and as he sate by himself he Sung. Hark, said Mr. *Great-heart*, to what the Shepherds Boy saith. So they hearkened, and he said,

He that is down, needs fear no fall,
He that is low, no Pride: Phil. 4. 12, 13.
He that is humble, ever shall
Have God to be his Guide.
I am content with what I have,
Little be it, or much:
And, Lord, contentment still I crave,
Because thou savest such.
Fulness to such a burden is
That go on Pilgrimage: Heb. 13. 5.
Here little, and hereafter Bliss,
Is best from Age to Age.

Then said their *Guide*, do you hear him? I will dare to say, that this Boy lives a merrier Life, and wears more of that Herb called *Hearts-ease* in his Bosom, then he that is clad in Silk, and Velvet; but we will proceed in our Discourse.

In this Valley, our Lord formerly had his *Countrey-House*, he loved much to be here. He loved also to walk these Medows, for he found the Air was pleasant. Besides here a man shall be free from the Noise, and from the hurryings of this Life, all States are full of Noise and Confusion, only the Valley of *Humiliation*, is that empty and Solitary Place. Here a man shall not be so let, and hindred in his Contemplation, as in other places he is apt to be. This is a Valley that no body walks in, but those that love a Pilgrim's Life. And tho' *Christian* had the hard hap to meet here with *Apollion*, and to enter with him a brisk encounter: Yet I must tell you, that in former times men have met

Christ, when in the Flesh, had his Countrey-House in the Valley of Humiliation.

Hos 12. 4, 5. with Angels here, have found Pearls here, and have in this place found the words of Life.

Did I say, our Lord had here in former Days his Countrey-house, and that he loved here to walk? I will add, in this Place, and to the People that live,

Mat. 11. 29. and trace these Grounds he has left a yearly revenue to be faithfully payed them at certain Seasons, for their maintenance by the way, and for their further incouragement to go on in their Pilgrimage.

[1]*Simon.* Now as they went on, [1]*Simon* said to Mr. *Great-heart. Sir, I perceive that in this Valley, my Father and* Apollyon *had their Battel; but whereabout was the Fight, for I perceive this Valley is large?*

Great-heart. Your Father had that Battel with *Apollyon* at a place yonder, before us, in a narrow

Forgetful Green. Passage just beyond *Forgetful-Green.* And indeed that place is the most dangerous place in all these Parts. For if at any time the Pilgrims meet with any brunt, it is when they forget what Favours they have received, and how unworthy they are of them. This is the Place also where others have been hard put to it. But more of the place when we are come to it; for I perswade my self, that to this day there remains either some sign of the Battel, or some Monument to testifie that such a Battle there was fought.

Mercy. Then said *Mercy*, I think I am as well in this Valley, as I have been any where else in all our

Humility a sweet Grace. Journey: The place methinks suits with my Spirit. I love to be in such places where there is no ratling with Coaches, nor rumbling with Wheels. Methinks here one may without much Molestation, be thinking what he is, whence he came, what he has done, and to what the King has called him. Here

Song 7. 4. one may think, and break at Heart, and melt in

[1] Corrected to '*Samuel*,' in sub. edits.

ones Spirit until ones Eyes become like the *Fish Pools of Heshbon.* They that go rightly thorow this Valley of *Baca* make it a Well, the Rain that God sends down from Heaven upon them that are here also *filleth the Pools.* This Valley is that from whence also the King will give to their Vineyards, and they that go through it, shall sing, (as *Christian* did, for all he met with *Apollyon.*) Psal. 84. 5, 6, 7. Hos. 2. 15.

Great-heart. 'Tis true, said their Guide, I have gon thorough this Valley many a time, and never was better than when here. *An Experiment of it.*

I have also been a Conduct to several Pilgrims, and they have confessed the same, *To this man will I look, saith the King, even to him that is Poor, and of a contrite Spirit, and that trembles at my Word.*

Now they were come to the place where the afore mentioned Battel was fought. Then said the Guide to *Christiana,* her Children, and *Mercy:* This is the place, on this Ground *Christian* stood, and up there came *Apollyon* against him. And look, did not I tell you, [2]hear is some of your Husbands Blood upon these Stones to this day: Behold also how here, and there, are yet to be seen upon the place, some of the Shivers of *Apollyon's* broken *Darts.* See also how they did beat the Ground with their Feet, as they fought to make good their Places against each other, how also with their by-blows, they did split the very Stones in pieces. Verily *Christian* did here play the Man, and shewed himself as stout, as could, had he been there, even Hercules himself. When *Apollyon* was beat, he made his retreat to the next Valley, that is called The Valley of the shadow of Death, unto which we shall come anon. *The place where* Christian *and the* Fiend *did fight, Some signs of the Battel remains.*

Lo yonder also stands a Monument on which is Engraven this Battle, and *Christians* Victory to his *'A Monument of the Battel.'*

[2] 'Corrected to 'here,' in sub. edits. [3] Inserted in 1687.

Fame, throughout all Ages. So because it stood just on the way-side before them, they stept to it and read the Writing, Which word for word was this,

A Monument of Christians *Victory.*

Hard by, here was a Battle fought,
Most strange, and yet most true.
Christian *and* Apollyon *sought*
Each other to subdue.
The Man so bravely play'd the Man,
He made the Fiend *to fly:*
Of which a Monument I stand,
The same to testifie.

When they had passed by this place, they came upon the Borders of the shadow of Death, and this Valley was longer then the other, a place also most strangely haunted with Evil things, as many are able to testifie. But these Women and Children went the better thorough it, because they had day-light, and because Mr. *Great-heart* was their Conductor.

1 *Part pag.* 97. [70].

When they were entred upon this Valley, they thought that they heard a groaning as of dead men: a very great groaning. They thought also they did hear Words of Lamentation spoken, as of some in extream Torment. These things made the Boys to quake, the Women also looked pale and wan; but their Guide bid them be of good Comfort.

Groanings heard.

So they went on a little further, and they thought that they felt the Ground begin to shake under them, as if some hollow Place was there; they heard also a kind of a hissing as of Serpents; but nothing as yet appeared. Then said the Boys, Are we not yet at the end of this Doleful place? But the Guide also bid them be of good Courage, and look well to their Feet, lest haply, said he, you be taken, in some Snare.

The Ground shakes.

Now *James* began to be Sick; but I think the cause thereof was Fear, so his Mother gave him some of that Glass of Spirits that she had given her at the *Interpreters* House, and three of the Pills '[1] that Mr. *Skill* had prepared,' and the Boy began to revive. Thus they went on till they came to about the middle of the Valley, and then *Christiana* said, Methinks I see something yonder upon the Road before us, a thing of such a shape such as I have not seen. Then said *Joseph*, Mother, what is it? An ugly thing, Child; an ugly thing, said she. But Mother, what is it like, said he? 'Tis like I cannot tell what, said she. And now it was but a little way off. Then said she, it is nigh.

James sick with Fear.

The Fiend appears.

'The Pilgrims are afraid.'[1]

Well, well, said Mr. *Great-heart*, let them that are most afraid keep close to me. So the *Fiend* came on, and the Conductor met it; but when it was just come to him, it vanished to all their sights. Then remembred they what had been said sometime ago. *Resist the Devil, and he will fly from you.*

They went therefore on, as being a little refreshed; but they had not gone far, before *Mercy* looking behind her, saw, as she thought, something, most like a Lion, and it came a great padding pace after; and it had a hollow Voice of Roaring, and at every Roar that it gave, it made all the Valley Eccho, and their Hearts to ake, save the Heart of him that was their Guide. So it came up, and Mr. *Great-heart* went behind, and put the Pilgrims all before him. The Lion also came on a pace, and Mr. *Great-heart* addressed himself to give him Battel. But when he saw that it was determined that resistance should be made, he also drew back and came no further.

'Great-heart incourages them.'[1]

A Lion.

1 Pet. 5. 8, 9.

Then they went on again, and their Conductor did go before them, till they came at a place where was cast up a pit, the whole breadth of the way,

A pit and darkness.

[1] Added in 1687.

and before they could be prepared to go over that, a great mist and a darkness fell upon them, so that they could not see. Then said the Pilgrims, alas! now what shall we do? But their *Guide* made answer, fear not, stand still and see what an end will be put to this also; so they stayed there because their Path was marr'd. They then also thought that they did hear more apparently the noise and rushing of the Enemies, the fire also and the smoke of the pit was much easier to be discerned. Then said *Christiana* to *Mercy*, now I see what my poor Husband went through. I have heard much of this place, but I never was here afore now; poor man, he went here all alone in the night; he had night almost quite through the way, also these Fiends were busie about him, as if they would have torn him in pieces. Many have spoke of it, but none can tell what the Valley of the shaddow of death should mean, until they come in it themselves. *The heart knows its own bitterness, and a stranger intermeddleth not with its Joy.* To be here is a fearful thing.

Christiana *now knows what her Husband felt.*

Greath. This is like doing business in great Waters, or like going down into the deep; this is like being in the heart of the Sea, and like going down to the Bottoms of the Mountains. Now it seems as if the Earth with its bars were about us for ever. *But let them that walk in darkness and have no light, trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon their God.* For my Part, as I have told you already, I have gone often through this Valley, and have been much harder put to it, than now I am, and yet you see I am alive. I would not boast, for that I am not mine own Saviour. But I trust we shall have a good deliverance. Come let us pray for light to him that can lighten our darkness, and that can rebuke, not only these, but all the Satans in Hell.

'Great-heart's *Reply.*[1]'

[1] Inserted in 1687.

So they cried and prayed, and God sent light and deliverance, for there was now no lett in their way, no not there, where but now they were stopt with a pit: *They pray.*

Yet they were not got through the Valley; so they went on still, and behold great stinks and loathsome smells, to the great annoyance of them. Then said *Mercy* to *Christiana*, there is not such pleasant being here, as at the *Gate*, or at the Interpreters, or at the House where we lay last.

O but, said one of the Boys, *it is not so bad to go through here, as it is to* abide *here always, and for ought I know, one reason why we must go this way to the House prepared for us, is, that our home might be made the sweeter to us.* *'One of the Boys Reply.'*[2]

Well said, *Samuel*, quoth the *Guide*, thou hast now spoke like a man. Why, if ever I get out here again, said the *Boy*, I think I shall prise light, and good way better than ever I did in all my life. Then said the *Guide*, we shall be out by and by.

So on they went, and *Joseph* said, *Cannot we see to the end of this Valley as yet?* Then said the *Guide*, Look to your feet, for you shall presently be among the Snares. So they looked to their feet and went on; but they were troubled much with the Snares. Now when they were come among the Snares, they espied a man cast into the Ditch on the left hand, with his flesh all rent and torn. Then said the *Guide*, That is one *Heedless*, that was a going this way; he has lain there a great while. There was one *Takeheed* with him, when he was taken, and slain, but *he* escaped their hands. You cannot imagine, how many are killed here about, and yet men are so foolishly venturous, as to set out lightly on Pilgrimage, and to come without a *Guide*. Poor *Christian*, it was a wonder that he here escaped, but he was beloved of his God, also

Heedless *is slain, and* Takeheed *preserved.*

[2] Inserted in 1687.

he had a good heart of his own, or else he could never a-done it. Now they drew towards the end of the way, and just there where *Christian* had seen the Cave when he went by, out thence came forth *Maull* a Gyant. This *Maull* did use to spoyl young Pilgrims with Sophistry, and he called *Great-heart* by his name, and said unto him, how many times have you been forbidden to do these things? Then said Mr. *Great-heart*, what things? What things, quoth the Gyant, you know what things; but I will put an end to your trade. But pray, said Mr. *Great-heart*, before we fall to it, let us understand wherefore we must fight (now the Women and Children stood trembling, and know not what to do) quoth the Gyant, you rob the Countrey, and rob it with the worst of Thefts. These are but Generals, said Mr. *Great-heart*, come to particulars, man:

1 *Part. pag.* 105,106.[76.]

Maull *a Gyant.*

'He quarrels with Great-heart.'

Then said the Giant, Thou practises the craft of a *Kidnapper*, thou gatherest up Women, and Children, and carriest them into a strange Countrey, to the weakning of my Masters Kingdom. But now *Great-heart* replied, I am a Servant of the God of Heaven, my business is to perswade sinners to Repentance, I am commanded to do my endeavour to turn Men, Women, and Children, from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God, and if this be indeed the ground of thy quarrel, let us fall to it as soon as thou wilt.

God's Ministers counted as Kidnappers.

The Gyant *and Mr.* Great-heart *must fight.*

Then the Giant, came up, and Mr. *Great-heart* went to meet him, and as he went he drew his *Sword;* but the *Giant* had a *Club*. So with out more ado they fell to it, and at the first blow the *Giant* stroke Mr. *Great-heart* down upon one of his knees; with that the Women, and Children cried [2]out. So Mr. *Great-heart* recovering himself, laid about him in full lusty manner, and gave the *Giant*

Weak folks prayers do sometimes help strong folks cries.

[1] Inserted in 1687. [2] 'out,' omitted in sub. edits.

a wound in his arm; thus he fought for the space of an hour to that height of heat, that the breath came out of the *Giants* nostrils, as the heat doth out of a boiling Caldron.

Then they sat down to rest them, but Mr. *Great-heart* betook him to prayer; also the Women and Children did nothing but sigh and cry all the time that the Battle did last.

When they had rested them, and taken breath, they both fell to it again, and Mr. *Great-heart* with a full blow, fetcht the *Giant* down to the ground. *The Gyant struck down.* Nay hold, and let me recover, quoth he. So Mr. *Great-heart* fairly let him get up; so to it they went again; and the Giant mist but little of all-to-breaking Mr. *Great-heart's* Scull with his Club.

Mr. *Great-heart* seeing that, runs to him in the full heat of his Spirit, and [3]pierceth him under the fifth rib; with that the *Giant* began to faint, and could hold up his Club no longer. Then Mr. *Great-heart* seconded his blow, and smit the head of the *Giant* from his shoulders. Then the Women and Children rejoyced, and Mr. *Great-heart* also praised God, for the deliverance he had wrought.

When this was done, they amongst them erected *He is slain, and his head disposed of.* a Pillar, and fastned the Gyant's head thereon, and wrote underneath in Letters that Passengers might read.

He that did wear this head, was one
That Pilgrims did misuse;
He stopt their way, he spared none,
But did them all abuse;
Until that I, Great-heart, *arose,*
The Pilgrims Guide *to be;*
Until that I did him oppose,
That was their Enemy.

[3] 'and pierced,' 1687.

1 *Part pag.* 107. [77]

Now I saw, that they went to the Ascent that was a little way off cast up to be a Prospect for Pilgrims (That was the place from whence *Christian* had the first sight of *Faithful* his Brother.) Wherefore here they sat down, and rested, they also here did eat and drink, and make merry; for that they had gotten deliverance from this so dangerous an Enemy. As they sat thus and did eat, *Christiana* asked the *Guide*, *If he had caught no hurt in the battle.* Then said Mr. *Great-heart*, *no*, save a little on my flesh; yet that also shall be so far from being to my Determent, that it is at present a proof of my love to my Master, and you, and shall be a means by Grace to encrease my reward at last.

2 Cor. 4.

Discourse of the fights.

But was you not afraid, good Sir, when you see him come [4] *out with his Club?*

It is my Duty, said he, to distrust mine own ability, that I may have reliance on him that is stronger than all. *But what did you think when he fetched you down to the ground at the first blow?* Why I thought, quoth he, that so my Master himself was served, and yet he it was that conquered at the last.

Mat *here admires* Goodness.

Matt. When you all have thought what you please, I think God has been wonderful good unto us, both in bringing us out of this Valley, and in delivering us out of the hand of this Enemy; for my part I see no reason why we should distrust our God any more, since he has now, *and in* such *a place as this, given us such testimony of his love as this.*

Old Honest *asleep under an Oak.*

Then they got up and went forward, now a little before them stood an Oak, and under it when they came to it, they found an old *Pilgrim* fast asleep, they knew that he was a *Pilgrim* by his *Cloths*, and his *Staff* and his *Girdle*.

So the *Guide* Mr. *Great-heart* awaked him, and

[4] 'come with,' 1687.

the old Gentleman, as he lift up his eyes, cried out; Whats the matter? who are you? and what is your business here?

Great. Come man be not so hot, here is none but Friends; yet the old man gets up and stands upon his guard, and will know of them what they were. Then said the *Guide*, my name is *Great-heart*, I am the guide of these Pilgrims which are going to the Celestial Countrey.

One Saint sometimes takes another for his Enemy.

Honest. Then said Mr. *Honest*, I cry you mercy; I fear'd that you had been of the Company of those that some time ago did rob *Little-faith* of his money; but now I look better about me, I perceive you are honester People.

'*Talk between* Great-heart *and he.*'[5]

Greath. *Why what would, or could you adone, to a helped your self, if we indeed had been of that Company?*

Hon. Done! Why, I would a fought as long as Breath had been in me; and had I so done, I am sure you could never have given me the worst on't, for a *Christian* can never be overcome, unless he shall yield of himself.

Greath. *Well said*, Father Honest, *quoth the Guide, for by this I know thou art a Cock of the right kind, for thou hast said the Truth.*

Hon. And by this also I know that thou knowest what true Pilgrimage is; for all others do think that we are the soonest overcome of any.

Whence Mr Honest *came.*

Greath. *Well now we are so happily met, pray let me crave your Name, and the name of the Place you came from?*

Hon. My Name I cannot, but I came from the Town of *Stupidity;* it lieth about four Degrees beyond the City of *Destruction.*

Greath. Oh! *Are you that Countryman then? I deem I have half a guess of you, your name is old* Honesty, *is it not?* So the old Gentleman blushed,

[5] Inserted in 1687.

and said, Not Honesty in the *abstract*, but *Honest* is my Name, and I wish that my *Nature* shall agree to what I am called.

Hon. But Sir, said the old Gentleman, how could you guess that I am such a Man, since I came from such a place?

Stupified ones are worse then those meerly Carnal.

Greath. *I had heard of you before, by my Master, for he knows all things that are done on the Earth: But I have often wondered that any should come from your place; for your Town is worse than is the City of* Destruction *it self.*

Hon. Yes, we lie more off from the Sun, and so are more cold and sensless; but was a Man in a Mountain of Ice, yet if the Sun of Righteousness will arise upon him, his frozen Heart shall feel a Thaw; and thus it hath been with me.

Greath. I believe it, Father *Honest*, I believe it, for I know the thing is true.

Then the old Gentleman saluted all the Pilgrims with a holy Kiss of Charity, and asked them of their Names, and how they had [1]faired since they set out on their Pilgrimage.

'Old Honest and Christiana talk.[2]'

Christ. Then said *Christiana*, my Name I suppose you have heard of, good *Christian* was my Husband, and these four were his Children. But can you think how the old Gentleman was taken, when she told them who she was! He skip'd, he smiled, and blessed them with a thousand good Wishes, saying,

Hon. I have heard much of your Husband, and of his Travels and Wars which he underwent in his days. Be it spoken to your Comfort, the Name of your Husband rings all over these parts of the World: His Faith, his Courage, his Enduring, and his Sincerity under all, has made his Name Famous. Then he turned him to the Boys, and asked them of their Names, which they told him: And then said he

'He also talks with the Boys.[2]'

[1] 'had fared,' 1687. [2] Inserted in 1687.

unto them, *Matthew*, be thou like *Matthew* the Publican, not in Vice, but in Virtue. *Samuel*, said he, be thou like *Samuel* the Prophet, a Man of Faith and Prayer. *Joseph*, said he, be thou like *Joseph* in *Potiphar's* House, Chast, and one that flies from Temptation. And, *James*, be thou like *James* the *Just*, and like *James* the Brother of our Lord. *Old Mr. Honest's blessing on them.* Mat. 10. 3. Psal. 99. 6. Gen. 39. Acts [1. 13][3]

Then they told him of *Mercy*, and how she had left her Town and her Kindred to come along with *Christiana*, and with her Sons. At that the old *Honest* Man said, *Mercy*, is thy Name? by *Mercy* shalt thou be sustained, and carried thorough all those Difficulties that shall assault thee in thy way; till thou shalt come thither where thou shalt look the Fountain of Mercy in the Face with Comfort. *'He blesseth Mercy[4]'*

All this while the Guide Mr. *Great-heart*, was very much pleased, and smiled upon his Companion.

Now as they walked along together, the Guide asked the old Gentleman, *if he did not know one Mr.* Fearing *that came on Pilgrimage out of his Parts.* *Talk of one Mr. Fearing.*

Hon. Yes, very well, said he; he was a Man that had the Root of the Matter in him, but he was one of the most troublesom Pilgrims that ever I met with in all my days.

Greath. *I perceive you knew him, for you have given a very right Character of him.*

Hon. Knew him! I was a great Companion of his, I was with him most an end; when he first began to think of what would come upon us hereafter, I was with him.

Greath. *I was his Guide from my Master's House, to the Gates of the Celestial City.*

Hon. Then you knew him to be a troublesom one.

[3] The reference in the first and all the early editions is merely to the 'Acts;' the chapter and verse, in error put 1. 14. instead of 1. 13, were added in the 13th edit. 1726.

[4] Inserted in 1687.

Greath. *I did so, but I could very well bear it: for Men of my Calling, are oftentimes intrusted with the Conduct of such as he was.*

Hon. Well then, pray let us hear a little of him, and how he managed himself under your Conduct?

Mr. Fearing's *troublesom Pilgrimage.*

Greath. Why he was always afraid that he should come short of whither he had a desire to go. Every thing frightned him that he heard any body speak of, that had but the least appearance of Opposition in it. I hear that he lay roaring at the [3]*Slow* of *Dispond*, for above a Month together, nor durst he, for all he saw several go over before him, venture, tho they, many of them, offered to lend him their Hand. *He would not go back again neither.* The Celestial City, he said he should die if he came not to it, and yet was dejected at every Difficulty, and stumbled at every Straw that any body cast in his way. Well, after he had layn at the [3]*Slow of Dispond* a great while, as I have told you; one sunshine Morning, I do not know how, he ventured, and so got over. But when he was over, he would scarce believe it. He had, I think, a *Slow of Dispond* in his Mind, a *Slow* that he carried every where with him, or else he could never have been as he was. So he came up to the Gate, you know what I mean, that stands at the head of this way, and there also he stood a good while before he would adventure to knock. When the Gate was opened he would give back, and give place to others, and say that he was not worthy. For, for all he gat before some to the Gate, yet many of them went in before him. There the poor Man would stand shaking and shrinking: I dare say it would have pitied ones Heart to have seen him: *Nor would he go back again.* At last he took the Hammer that hanged on the Gate in his hand, and gave a small Rapp or two; then one opened to him,

His behaviour at the Slow *of* Dispond.

His behavior at the Gate.

[3] 'the Slough,' 1687.

but he shrunk back as before. He that opened stept out after him, and said, Thou trembling one, what wantest thou? with that he fell '[4] down' to the Ground. He that spoke to him wondered to see him so faint. So he said to him, Peace be to thee, up, for I have set open the Door to thee; come in, for thou art blest. With that he gat up, and went in trembling, and when he was in, he was ashamed to shew his Face. Well, after he had been entertained there a while, as you know how the manner is, he was bid go on his way, and also told the way he should take. So he came till he came to our House, but as he behaved himself at the Gate, so he did at my Master the *Interpreters* Door. He lay thereabout in the Cold a good while, before he would adventure to call; *Yet he would not go back.* And the Nights were long and cold then. Nay he had a Note of *Necessity* in his Bosom to my Master, to receive him, and grant him the Comfort of his House, and also to allow him a stout and valiant Conduct, because he was himself so *Chickin-hearted* a Man; and yet for all that he was afraid to call at the Door. So he lay up and down there abouts till, poor man, he was almost starved; yea so great was his Dejection, that tho he saw several others for knocking got in, yet he was afraid to venture. At last, I think I looked out of the Window, and perceiving a man to be up and down about the Door, I went out to him, and asked what he was; but, poor man, the water stood in his Eyes. So I perceived what he wanted. I went therefore in, and told it in the House, and we shewed the thing to our Lord; So he sent me out again, to entreat him to come in, but I dare say I had hard work to do it. At last he came in, and I will say that for my Lord, he carried it wonderful lovingly to him. There were but a few good bits at the Table, but

His behavior at the Interpreters Dore.

How he was entertained there.

[4] 'down,' added in 1687.

some of it was laid upon his Trencher. Then he presented the *Note*, and my Lord looked thereon and said, his Desire should be granted. So when he had bin there a good while, he seemed to get some Heart, and to be a little more Comfortable. For my Master, you must know, is one of very tender Bowels, specially to them that are afraid, wherefore he carried it so towards him, as might tend most to his Incouragement. Well, when he had had a sight of the things of the place, and was ready to take his Journey to go to the City, my Lord, as he did to *Christian* before, gave him a Bottle of Spirits, and some comfortable things to eat. Thus we set forward, and I went before him; but the man was but of few Words, only he would sigh aloud.

'He is a little encouraged at the Interpreters *house.'*[1]

When we were come to where the three Fellows were hanged, he said, that he doubted that that would be his end also. Only he seemed glad when he saw the Cross and the Sepulcher. There I confess he desired to stay a little to look; and he seemed for a while after to be a little *Cheary*. When we came at the Hill *Difficulty*, he made no stick at that, nor did he much fear the Lyons: For you must know that his Trouble *was not about such things as those*, his Fear was about his Acceptance at last.

He was greatly afraid when he saw the Gibbit, Cheary when he saw the Cross.

I got him in at the House *Beautiful*, I think before he was willing; also when he was in, I brought him acquainted with the Damsels that were of the Place, but he was ashamed to make himself much for Company, he desired much to be alone, yet he always loved good talk, and often would get behind the *Screen* to hear it; he also loved much to see *antient* Things, and to be *pondering* them in his Mind. He told me afterwards, that he loved to be in those two Houses from which he came last, to wit, at the Gate, and that of the

Dumpish at the House Beautiful.

[1] Inserted in 1687.

Interpreters, but that he durst not be so bold to ask.

When we went also from the House *Beautiful*, down the Hill, into the Valley of *Humiliation*, he went down as well as ever I saw man in my Life, for he cared not how mean he was, so he might be happy at last. Yea, I think there was a kind of a Sympathy betwixt that Valley and him. For I never saw him better in all his Pilgrimage, then when he was in that Valley. *'[2] He went down into, and was very' Pleasant in the Valley of* Humiliat.

Here he would lie down, imbrace the Ground, and kiss the very Flowers that grew in this Valley. He would now be up every Morning by break of Day, tracing, and walking to and fro in this Valley. Lam. 3. 27, 28, 29.

But when he was come to the entrance of the Valley of the Shadow of Death, I thought I should have lost my Man; not for that he had any Inclination to go back, that he always abhorred, but he was ready to dy[3] for Fear. O, the *Hobgoblins* will have me, the *Hobgoblins* will have me, cried he; and I could not beat him out on't. He made such a noyse, and such an outcry here, that, had they but heard him, 'twas enough to encourage them to come and fall upon us. *Much perplexed in the Valley of the Shadow of* Death.

But this I took very great notice of, that this Valley was as quiet while he went thorow it, as ever I knew it before or since. I suppose, those Enemies here, had now a special Check from our Lord, and a Command not to meddle until Mr. *Fearing* was past over it.

It would be too tedious to tell you of all; we will therefore 'only'[2] mention a Passage or two more. When he was come at *Vanity Fair*, I thought he would have fought with all the men in the Fair, I feared there we should both have been knock'd o' th Head, so hot was he against their Fooleries; upon the in- *'His Behaviour at* Vanity-Fair.'[2]

[2] Added in 1687.

[3] 'dye for Fear,' 1687.

chanted Ground, he was also very wakeful. But when he was come at the *River* where was no Bridg, there again he was in a heavy Case; now, now he said he should be drowned for ever, and so never see that Face with Comfort, that he had come so many miles to behold.

And here also I took notice of what was very remarkable, the Water of that River was lower at this time, than ever I saw it in all my Life; so he went over at last, not much above wet-shod. When he was going up to the Gate, Mr. *Great-heart* began to take his Leave of him, and to wish him a good Reception above; So he said, *I shall, I shall.* Then parted we asunder, and I saw him no more.

'His Boldness at last.'[2] Honest. *Then it seems he was well at last.*

Greath. Yes, yes, I never had doubt about him, he was a man of a choyce Spirit, only he was always kept very low, and that made his Life so burthen-
Psal. 88. some to himself, and so troublesom to others. He
Rom. 14. 21. was above many, tender of Sin; he was so affraid of doing Injuries to others, that he often would deny
1 Cor. 8. 13. himself of that which was lawful, because he would not offend.

Hon. *But what should be the reason that such a good Man should be all his days so much in the dark?*

'Reason why good men are so in the dark.'[2] *Greath.* There are two sorts of Reasons for it; one is, The wise God will have it so, Some must
Matt. 11. 16, 17, 18. *Pipe*, and some must *Weep:* Now Mr. *Fearing* was one that played upon *this Base.* He and his Fellows sound the *Sackbut*, whose Notes are more doleful, than the Notes of other Musick are. Tho indeed some say, The Base is the Ground of Musick. And for my part I care not at all for that Profession, that begins not in heaviness of Mind. The first string that the Musitian usually touches, *is the Base*, when he intends to put all in tune; God also plays upon this string first, when he sets the Soul in tune

[2] Added in 1687.

for himself. Only here was the imperfection of Mr. *Fearing*, he could play upon no other Musick but this, till towards his latter end.

I make bold to talk thus Metaphorically, for the ripening of the Wits of young Readers, and because in the Book of the Revelations, the Saved are compared to a company of Musicians that play upon their *Trumpets* and Harps, and sing their Songs before the Throne. Revel. 8. 2. Chap. 14. 2, 3.

Hon. *He was a very zealous man, as one may see by what Relation you have given of him. Difficulties, Lyons, or Vanity Fair, he feared not at all: 'Twas only Sin, Death, and Hell, that was to him a Terror;* because he had some Doubts about his Interest in that Celestial Country.

Great. You say right. *Those* were the things that were his Troublers, and they, as you have well observed, arose from the weakness of his Mind there about, not from weakness of Spirit as to the practical part of a Pilgrims Life. I dare believe that as the Proverb is, he could have bitt a Firebrand, had it stood in his Way: But the things with which he was oppressed, no man ever yet could shake off with ease. 'A Close about him.' [3]

Christiana. *Then said* Christiana, *This Relation of Mr.* Fearing *has done me good. I thought no body had been like me, but I see there was some Semblance 'twixt this good man and I, only we differed in two things. His Troubles were so great they brake out, but mine I kept within. His also lay so hard upon him, they made him that he could not knock at the Houses provided for Entertainment; but my Trouble was always such, as made me knock the lowder.* 'Christiana's Sentence.' [3]

Mer. If I might also speak my Heart, I must say that something of him has also dwelt in me. For I have ever been more afraid of the Lake and the loss of a place in *Paradice*, then I have been of 'Mercy's Sentence.' [3]

[3] Added in 1687.

the loss of other things. Oh, thought I, may I have the Happiness to have a Habitation *there*, 'tis enough, though I part with all the World to win it.

'Matthew's Sentence.'[3] *Matt. Then said* Matthew, *Fear was one thing that made me think that I was far from having that within me, that accompanies Salvation, but if it was so with such a good man as he, why may it not also go well with me?*

'James's Sentence.'[3] *Jam.* No fears, no Grace, said *James.* Tho[4] there is not always Grace where there is the fear of Hell; yet to be sure there is no Grace where there is no fear of God.

Greath. *Well said,* James, *thou hast hit the Mark, for the fear of God is the beginning of Wisdom; and to be sure they that want the* beginning, *have neither* middle, *nor* end. *But we will here conclude our discourse of Mr.* Fearing *after we have sent after him this Farewel.*

'Their Farewell about him.'[3]

Well, Master Fearing, *thou didst fear*
Thy God: And wast afraid
Of doing any thing, while here,
That would have thee betray'd.
And didst thou fear the Lake and Pit?
Would others did so too:
For, as for them that want thy Wit,
They do themselves undo.

Now I saw, that they still went on in their Talk. For after Mr. *Greatheart* had made an end with Mr. *Fearing,* Mr. *Honest* began to tell them of another, but his Name was Mr. *Selfwil.* He pretended himself to be a *Pilgrim,* said Mr. *Honest;* But I perswade my self, he never came in at the Gate that stands at the head of the way.

Of Mr. Self-will.

Greath. *Had you ever any talk with him about it?*

'Old Honest had talked with him.'[3] *Hon.* Yes, more than once or twice; but he would

[3] Added in 1687. [4] 'Though,' 1687.

always be like himself, *self-willed*. He neither cared for man, nor Argument, nor yet Example; what his Mind prompted him to, that he would do, and nothing else could he be got to.

Greath. *Pray what Principles did he hold, for I suppose you can tell?*

Hon. He held that a man might follow the Vices, as well as the Virtues of the Pilgrims, and that if he did both, he should be certainly saved. Selfwill's *Opinions.*

Greath. *How? If he had said, 'tis possible for the best to be guilty of the Vices, as well as to partake of the Virtues of Pilgrims, he could not much* [2] *a been blamed. For indeed we are exempted from no Vice absolutely, but on condition that we Watch and Strive. But this I perceive is not the thing. But if I understand you right, your meaning is, that he was of that Opinion, that it was allowable so to be?*

Hon. Ai, ai, so I mean, and so he believed and practised.

Greath. *But what Ground had he for his so saying?*

Hon. Why, he said he had the Scripture for his Warrant.

Greath. *Prethee, Mr.* Honest, *present us with a few Particulars.*

Hon. So I will, He said To have to do with other mens Wives, had been practised by *David*, God's Beloved, and therefore he could do it. He said to have more Women than one, was a thing that *Solomon* practised, and therefore he could do it. He said that *Sarah*, and the godly Midwives of *Egypt* lied, and so did saved *Rahab*, and therefore he could do it. He said that the Disciples went at the biding of their Master, and took away the Owners *Ass*, and therefore he could do so too. He said that *Jacob* got the Inheritance of his Father in

[2] 'much have been,' 1687.

a way of Guile and Dissimulation, and therefore he could do so too.

Greath. *High base! indeed, and you are sure he was of this Opinion?*

Hon. I have heard him plead for it, bring Scripture for it, bring Argument for it, *&c.*

Greath. *An Opinion that is not fit to be, with any Allowance, in the World.*

Hon. You must understand me rightly. He did not say that any man might do this; but, that those that had the Virtues of those that did such things, might also do the same.

Greath. *But what more false than such a Conclusion? For this is as much as to say, that because good men heretofore have sinned of Infirmity, therefore he had allowance to do it of a presumptuous Mind. Or if because a Child, by the blast of the Wind, or for that it stumbled at a stone, fell down and defiled it self in Myre, therefore he might wilfully ly down and wallow like a Bore therein. Who could a thought that any one could so far a bin blinded by the power of Lust? But what is written must be true.*

1 Pet. 2. 8. *They stumble at the Word, being disobedient, whereunto also they were appointed.*

His supposing that such may have the godly Man's Virtues, who addict themselves to their Vices, is also a Delusion as strong as the other. 'Tis just as if the Dog *should say, I have, or may have the* Qualities *of the* Child, *because I lick up its stinking Excrements.*

Hos. 4. 8. *To eat up the Sin of God's People, is no sign of one that is possessed with their Virtues. Nor can I believe that one that is of this Opinion, can at present have Faith or Love in him. But I know you have made strong Objections against him, prethee what can he say for himself?*

Hon. Why, he says, To do this by way of Opinion, seems abundance more honest, then to do it, and yet hold contrary to it in Opinion.

Greath. *A very wicked Answer, for tho to let loose the Bridle to Lusts, while our Opinions are against such things, is bad; yet to sin and plead a Toleration so to do, is worse; the one stumbles Beholders accidentally, the other pleads them into the Snare.*

Hon. There are many of this mans mind, that have not this mans mouth, and *that* makes going on Pilgrimage of so little esteem as it is.

Greath. *You have said the Truth, and it is to be lamented. But he that feareth the King of Paradice shall come out of them all.*

Christiana. There are strange Opinions in the World, I know one that said, 'twas time enough to repent when they [3]come to die.

Greath. *Such are not over wise. That man would a bin loth, might he have had a week to run twenty mile in for his Life, to have deferred that Journey to the last hour of that Week.*

Hon. You say right, and yet the generality of them that count themselves Pilgrims, do indeed do thus. I am, as you see, an old Man, and have bin a Traveller in this [4]Rode many a day; and I have taken notice of many things.

I have seen some that have set out as if they would drive all the World afore them: Who yet have in few days, died as they in the Wilderness, and so never gat sight of the promised Land.

I have seen some that have promised nothing at first setting out to be Pilgrims, and that one would a thought could not have lived a day, that have yet proved very good Pilgrims.

I have seen some, that have run hastily forward, that again have after a little time, run as fast just back again.

I have seen some who have spoke very well of a

[3] 'when they came to die,' 1687. [4] 'Road,' 1687.

Pilgrims Life at first, that after a while, have spoken as much against it.

I have heard some, when they first set out for Paradice, say positively, there is such a place, who when they have been almost there, have come back again, and said there is none.

I have heard some vaunt what they would do in case they should be opposed, that have even at a false Alarm fled Faith, the Pilgrims way, and all.

'*Fresh News of trouble.*'[5] Now as they were thus in their way, there came one runing to meet them, and said, Gentlemen, and you of the weaker sort, if you love Life, shift for your selves, for the Robbers are before you.

Greath. Then said Mr. *Greatheart*, They be the three that set upon *Little-faith* heretofore. Well, said he, we are ready for them; So they went on their way. Now they looked at every Turning when they should a met with the Villains. But whether they heard of Mr. *Greatheart*, or whether they had some other Game, they came not up to the Pilgrims.

1 *Part p.* 217.

'Great-heart's *Resolution.*'[5]

'Christiana *wisheth for an Inn.*'[5] *Chris. Christiana* then wished for an Inn for her self and her Children; because they were weary. Rom. 16. 23. Then said Mr. *Honest*, there is one a little before us, Gaius. where a very honorable Disciple, one *Gaius*, dwells. So they all concluded to turn in thither; and the rather, because the old Gentleman gave him so good a Report. So when they came to the Door, they went in, not knocking, for Folks use not to knock at the Door of an Inn. Then they called for the Master of the House, and he came to them. *So they asked if they might lie there that Night?*

'*They enter into his House.*'[5]

'Gaius *Entertains them, and how.*'[5] *Gaius.* Yes Gentlemen, if you be true Men, for my House is for none but Pilgrims. Then was *Christiana*, *Mercy*, and the *Boys*, the more glad, for that the Innkeeper was a Lover of Pilgrims. So they called for Rooms; and he shewed them one

[5] Added in 1687.

for *Christiana* and her Children and *Mercy*, and an other for Mr. *Great-heart* and the old Gentleman.

Greath. *Then said Mr.* Great-heart, *Good* Gaius, *what hast thou for Supper? for these Pilgrims have come far to day and are weary.*

Gaius. It is late, said *Gaius;* so we cannot conveniently go out to seek Food; but such as we have you shall be welcome to, if that will content.

Greath. *We will be content with what thou hast in the House, for as much as I have proved thee; thou art never destitute of that which is convenient.*

Then he went down, and spake to the Cook, whose Name was *Taste-that-which-is-good*, to get ready Supper for so many Pilgrims. This done, he comes up again, saying, come my good Friends, you are welcome to me, and I am glad that I have an House to entertain you; and while Supper is making ready, if you please, let us entertain one another with some good Discourse. So they all said, content. *'Gaius his Cook.'* [6]

Gaius. Then said *Gaius, whose Wife is this aged Matron, and whose Daughter is this young Damsel?* *'Talk between Gaius and his Guests.'* [6]

Greath. The Woman is the Wife of one *Christian*, a Pilgrim of former times, and these are his four Children. The Maid is one of her Acquaintance; one that she hath perswaded to come with her on Pilgrimage. The Boys take all after their Father, and covet to tread in his Steps. Yea, if they do but see any place where the old Pilgrim hath lain, or any print of his Foot, it ministreth Joy to their Hearts, and they covet to lie or tread in the same. *'Mark this.'* [6]

Gaius. Then said *Gaius,* Is this *Christian*'s Wife, and are these *Christian*'s Children? I knew your Husband's Father. yea, also, his Father's Father. Many have been good of this stock, their Ancestors dwelt first at *Antioch*. *Christian*'s Progenitors (I [7] Act 11. 26. *'Of Christian's Ancestors.'* [6]

[6] Added in 1687.

[7] Quoted in the first edit. as Ps. 11. 26; but corrected to Acts 11. 26, in sub. edits.

suppose you have heard your Husband talk of them) were very worthy men. They have above any that I know, shewed themselves men of great Virtue and Courage, for the Lord of the Pilgrims, his ways, and them that loved him. I have heard of many of
Acts 7. 59, 60. your Husband's Relations that have stood all Tryals for the sake of the Truth. *Stephen* that was one of the first of the Family from whence your Husband
Cha. 12. 2. sprang, was knocked o' th' Head with Stones. *James*, another of this Generation, was slain with the edge of the Sword. To say nothing of *Paul* and *Peter*, men antiently of the Family from whence your Husband came. There was *Ignatius*,* who was cast to the Lyons: *Romanus*, whose Flesh was cut by pieces from his Bones; and *Policarp*, that played the man in the Fire. There was he that was hanged up in a Basket in the Sun, for the Wasps to eat; and he who they put into a Sack and cast him into the Sea, to be drowned. 'Twould be impossible, utterly to count up all of that Family that have suffered Injuries and Death, for the love of a Pilgrims Life. Nor can I, but be glad, to see that thy Husband has left behind him four such Boys as these. I hope they will bear up their Fathers Name, and tread in their Fathers Steps, and come to their Fathers End.

Greath. *Indeed Sir, they are likely Lads; they seem to chuse heartily their Fathers Ways.*

'[2] *Advice to* Christiana *about her Boys.*' *Gaius.* That is it that I said, wherefore *Christians* Family is like still to spread abroad upon the face of the Ground, and yet to be numerous upon the face of the Earth. Wherefore let *Christiana* look out some Damsels for her Sons, to whom they may be betroathed, *&c.* that the Name of their Father, and the House of his Progenitors may never be forgotten in the World.

Hon. *'Tis pity this Family should fall, and be extinct.*

* Ignatius, Bishop in Antioch early in the second century, not Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuits. [2] Added in 1687.

Gaius. Fall it cannot, but be diminished it may; but let *Christiana* take my Advice, and that's the way to uphold it.

And *Christiana*, Said *This* Inkeeper, I am glad to see thee and thy Friend *Mercy* together here, a lovely Couple. And may I advise, take *Mercy* into a nearer Relation to thee. If she will, let her be given to *Matthew* thy eldest Son. 'Tis the way to preserve you a Posterity in the Earth. So this Match was concluded, and in process of time they were married. But more of that hereafter. [9] Mercy *and* Matthew *Marry.*

Gaius also proceeded, and said, I will now speak on the behalf of Women, to take away their Reproach. For as Death and the Curse came into the World by a Woman, so also did Life and Health; *God sent forth his Son, made of a Woman.* Yea, to shew how much those that came after, did abhor the Act of their Mother. This Sex, in the old Testament, coveted Children, if happily this or that Woman might be the Mother of the Saviour of the World. I will say again, that when the Saviour was come, Women rejoyced in him, before either Man or Angel. I read not that ever any man did give unto Christ so much as one Groat, but the Women followed him, and ministred to him of their Substance. 'Twas a Woman that washed his Feet with Tears, and a Woman that anointed his Body to the Burial. They were Women that wept, when he was going to the Cross; And Women that followed him from the Cross, and that sat by his Sepulcher when he was buried. They were Women that was first with him at his Resurrection-*morn*, and Women that brought Tiding first to his Disciples that he was risen from the Dead. Women therefore are highly favoured, and shew by these things that they are sharers with us in the Grace of Life.

Gen. 3. Gal. 4. *Why Women of old so much desired Children.* Luke 2. Chap. 8. 2, 3. chap. 7. 37. 50. John 11. 2. chap. 12. 3. Luk. 23. 27. Matt 27. 55, 56. 61. Luke 24. 22, 23.

[9] Added in 1687.

'[2] *Supper ready.*' Now the Cook sent up to signifie that Supper was almost ready, and sent one to lay the Cloath, the Trenshers, and to set the Salt and Bread in order.

Then said *Matthew, the sight of this Cloath, and of this Forerunner of a* [3]*Supper, begetteth in me a greater Appetite to my Food than I had before.*

What to be gathered from laying of the Board with the Cloath and Trenshers. *Gaius.* So let all ministring Doctrines *to* thee in this Life, beget *in* thee a greater desire to sit at the Supper of the great King in his Kingdom; for all Preaching, Books and Ordinances here, are but as the laying of the [4]Trenshers, and as setting of Salt upon the Board, when compared with the Feast that our Lord will make for us when we come to his House.

Levit. 7. 32, 33, 34: cap. 10. 14, 15. *Psalm* 25. 1. *Heb.* 13. 15. So Supper came up, and first a *Heave-shoulder*, and a *wave-Breast* was set on the Table before them. To shew that they must begin their *Meal* with Prayer and Praise to God. The *heave-shoulder David* lifted his Heart up to God with, and with the *wave-Breast, where his Heart lay*, with that he used to lean upon his Harp when he played. These two Dishes were very fresh and good, and they all eat heartily-well thereof.

Deut. 32. 14. The next they brought up, was a Bottle of Wine, red as Blood. So *Gaius* said to them, Drink freely,

Judg. 9. 13. this is the Juice of the true Vine, that makes glad

Joh. 15. 1. the Heart of God and Man. So they drank and were merry.

1 Pet. 2. 1, 2. The next was a Dish of Milk well crumbed. But

A Dish of Milk. *Gaius* said, *Let the Boys have that, that they may grow thereby.*

Of Hony, and Butter. Then they brought up in course a dish of *Butter* and *Hony*. Then said *Gaius*, Eat freely of *this*, for this is good to chear up, and strengthen your Judgments and Understandings. This was our

Isa. 7. 15. Lords Dish when he was a Child. *Butter and*

[2] Added in 1687.
[3] '*of the Supper*,' 1687.
[4] 'Trenchers,' 1687.

Hony shall he eat, that he may know to refuse the Evil, and chuse the Good.

Then they brought them up a dish of Apples, and they were very good tasted Fruit. Then said *Matthew*, May we eat Apples, since they were such, by, and with which, the Serpent beguiled our first Mother? *A dish of Apples.*

Then said *Gaius*,

Apples were they with *which we were beguil'd,*
Yet Sin, *not Apples hath our Souls defil'd.*
Apples forbid, if eat, corrupts the Blood.
To eat such, when commanded, does us good.
Drink of his Flagons then, thou Church, his Dove,
And eat his *Apples, who are sick of Love.*

Then said *Matthew, I made the Scruple, because I a while since, was sick with eating of Fruit.*

Gaius. Forbidden Fruit will make you sick, but not what our Lord has tolerated.

While they were thus talking, they were presented with an other Dish; and 'twas a dish of *Nuts*. Then said some at the Table, *Nuts* spoyl tender Teeth; specially the Teeth of Children. Which when *Gaius* heard, he said. *Song* 6. 11. *A dish of Nuts.*

Hard Texts *are* Nuts *(I will not call them* Cheaters,)
Whose Shells *do keep their* Kirnels *from the* Eaters.
Ope then the Shells, and you shall have the Meat,
They here are brought, for you to crack and eat.

Then were they very Merry, and sat at the Table a long time, talking of many Things. Then said the Old Gentleman, My good Landlord, while we are cracking your *Nuts*, if you please, do you open this Riddle.

A Riddle. '[1] *put forth by old* Honest.'

A man there was, tho some did count him mad,
The more he cast away, the more he had.

Then they all gave good heed, wondring what good *Gaius* would say, so he sat still a while, and then thus replyed:

Gaius *opens it.*

He that bestows his Goods upon the Poor,
Shall have as much again, and ten times more.

'Joseph *wonders.*'[1]

Then said *Joseph*, I dare say Sir, I did not think you could a found it out.

Oh! Said *Gaius*, I have bin trained up in this way a great while. Nothing teaches like Experience; I have learned of my Lord to be kind, and have found by experience, that I have gained thereby. *There is that scattereth, yet increaseth, and there is that witholdeth more then is meet, but it tendeth to Poverty. There is that maketh himself Rich, yet hath nothing, There is that maketh himself poor, yet hath great Riches.*

Prov. 11. 24. Chap. 13. 7.

Then *Simon*[2] whispered to *Christiana* his Mother, and said, Mother, this is a very good mans House, let us stay here a good while, and let my Brother *Matthew* be married here to *Mercy*, before we go any further.

'[1] Matthew *and* Mercy *are married.*'

The which *Gaius* the Host overhearing, said, *with a very good Will, my Child.*

So they staid there more than a Month, and *Mercy* was given to *Matthew* to Wife.

While they stayed here, *Mercy* as her Custom was, would be making Coats and Garments to give to the Poor, by which she brought up a very good Report upon the Pilgrims.

'*The Boys go to bed, the rest sit up.*'[1]

But to return again to our Story. After Supper, the lads desired a Bed, for that they were weary

[1] Added in 1687.

[2] Corrected to '*Samuel*' in 1687, and sub. edits.

with Travelling. Then *Gaius* called to shew them their Chamber, but said *Mercy*, I will have them to Bed. So she had them to Bed, and they slept well, but the rest sat up all Night. For *Gaius* and they were such sutable Company, that they could not tell how to part. Then after much talk of their Lord, themselves, and their Journey: old Mr. *Honest*, he that put forth the Riddle to *Gaius*, began to *nod*. Then said *Great-heart*, What Sir, you begin to be drouzy, come, rub up, now here's a *Riddle* for you. Then said Mr. *Honest*, let's hear it. *Old* Honest *nods.*

Then said Mr. *Great-heart*,

He that will kill, must first be overcome : *A Riddle*
Who live abroad would, first must die at home.

Hah, said Mr. *Honest*, it is a hard one, hard to expound, and harder to practise. But come Landlord, said he, I will if you please, leave my part to you, do you expound it, and I will hear what you say.

No said *Gaius*, 'twas put to you, and 'tis expected that you should answer it.

Then said the Old Gentleman,

He first by Grace must conquer'd be, [3] *The Riddle opened.*'
That Sin would mortifie.
And who, that lives, would convince me,
Unto himself must die.

It is right, said *Gaius*, good Doctrine and Experience teaches this. For first, until Grace displays it self, and overcomes the Soul with its Glory, it is altogether without Heart to oppose Sin. Besides, if Sin is Satan's Cords, by which the Soul lies bound, how should it make Resistance, before it is loosed from that Infirmity ?

[3] Added in 1687.

Secondly, Nor will any that knows either Reason or Grace, believe that such a man can be a living Monument of Grace, that is a Slave to his own Corruptions.

'[4]*A Question worth the minding.*' And now it comes in my mind, I will tell you a Story, worth the hearing. There were two Men that went on Pilgrimage, the one began when he was young, the other when he was old. The young Man had strong Corruptions to grapple with, the old Mans were decayed with the decays of Nature. The young man trod his steps as even as did the old one, and was every way as light as he; who now, or which of them, had their Graces shining clearest, since both seemed to be alike?

A Comparison. Honest. *The young Mans doubtless. For that which heads it against the greatest Opposition, gives best demonstration that it is strongest. Specially when it also holdeth pace with that that meets not with half so much; as to be sure old Age does not.*

'[4]*A mistake.*' Besides, I have observed that old men have blessed themselves with this mistake; Namely, taking the decays of Nature, for a gracious Conquest over Corruptions, and so have been apt to beguile themselves. Indeed old men that are gracious, are best able to give Advice to them that are young, because they have seen most of the emptiness of things. But yet, for an old and a young to set out both together, the young one has the advantage of the fairest discovery of a work of Grace within him, tho the old Mans Corruptions are naturally the weakest.

Thus they sat talking till break of Day. Now when the Family was up, *Christiana* bid her Son *James* that he should read a Chapter; so he read the 53d of *Isaiah*. When he had done, Mr. *Honest* '[5]*Another Question.*' asked why it was said, *That the Savior is said to*

[4] Added in 1687.

come out of a dry ground, and also that he had no Form nor Comliness in him?

Greath. Then said Mr. *Great-heart*, To the first I answer, because, The Church of the Jews, of which Christ came, had then lost almost, all the Sap and Spirit of Religion. To the second I say, The Words are spoken in the Person of the Unbelievers, who because they want that Eye, that can see into our Princes Heart, therefore they judg of him by the meanness of his Outside.

Just like those that know not that precious Stones are covered over with a homely *Crust;* who when they have found one, because they know not what they have found, cast it again away as men do a common Stone.

Well, said *Gaius*, Now you are here, and since, as I know, Mr. *Great-heart* is good at his Weapons, if you please, after we have refreshed our selves, we will walk into the Fields, to see if we can do any good. About a mile from hence, there is one *Slay-good*, a *Gyant* that doth much annoy the Kings Highway in these parts. And I know whereabout his Haunt is, he is Master of a number of Thieves; 'Twould be well if we could clear these Parts of him.

Gyant Slay-good *assaulted and slain.*

So they consented and went, Mr. *Great-heart* with his *Sword*, *Helmet*, and *Shield;* and the rest with Spears and Staves.

When they came to the place where he was, they found him with one *Feeble-mind* in his Hands, whom his Servants had brought unto him, having taken him in the Way; now the Gyant was rifling of him, with a purpose after that to pick his Bones. For he was of the nature of *Flesh-eaters.*

'*He is found with one* Feeble-mind *in his hand.*'[5]

Well, so soon as he saw Mr. *Great-heart*, and his Friends, at the Mouth of his Cave with their Weapons, he demanded what they wanted?

[5] Added in 1687.

Greath. We want thee; for we are come to revenge the Quarrel of the many that thou hast slain of the Pilgrims, when thou hast dragged them out of the Kings High-way; wherefore come out of thy Cave. So he armed himself and came out, and to a Battel they went, and fought for above an Hour, and then stood still to take Wind.

Slaygood. *Then said the Gyant, why are you here on my Ground?*

Greath. To revenge the Blood of Pilgrims, as I also told thee before; so they went to it again, and the Gyant made Mr. *Great-heart* give back, but he came up again, and in the greatness of his Mind, he let fly with such stoutness at the Gyants Head and Sides, that he made him let his Weapon fall out of his Hand. So he smote him and slew him, and cut off his Head, and brought it away to the *Inn.* He also took *Feeble-mind* the Pilgrim, and brought him with him to his Lodgings. When they were come home, they shewed his Head to the Family, and then set it up as they had done others before, for a Terror to those that should attempt to do as he, hereafter.

't One' Feeble-mind *rescued from the Gyant.*

Then they asked Mr. *Feeble-mind* how he fell into his hands?

Feeblem. Then said the poor man, I am a sickly man, as you see, and because *Death* did usually once a day, *knock at my Door*, I thought I should never be well at home. So I betook my self to a Pilgrims Life; and have travelled hither from the Town of *uncertain*, where I and my Father were born. I am a man of no strength at all, of Body, nor yet of Mind, but would, if I could, tho I can but *craul*, spend my Life in the Pilgrims way. When I came at the Gate that is at the head of the Way, the Lord of that place did entertain me freely. Neither objected he against my weakly Looks, nor

How Feeble-mind *came to be a Pilgrim.*

[7] Added in 1687.

against my *feeble Mind;* but gave me such things that were necessary for my Journey, and bid me hope to the end. When I came to the House of the *Interpreter*, I received much Kindness there, and because the Hill *Difficulty* was judged too hard for me, I was carried up that by one of his Servants. Indeed I have found much Relief from Pilgrims, tho none was willing to go so softly as I am forced to do. Yet still as they came on, they bid me be of good Chear, and said, that it was the will of their Lord, that Comfort should be given to the *feeble-minded*, and so went on their *own* pace. When I was come up to *assault-Lane*, then this *Gyant* met with me, and bid me prepare for an *Incounter;* but alas, feeble one that I was, I had more need of a *Cordial.* So he came up and took me, I conceited he should not kill me; also when he had got me into his Den, since I went not with him *willingly*, I believed I should come out alive again. For I have heard, that not any Pilgrim that is taken Captive by violent Hands, if he keeps Heart-whole towards his Master, is by the Laws of Providence to die by the Hand of the Enemy. *Robbed*, I looked to be, and Robbed to be sure I am; but I am as you see escaped with Life, for the which I thank my King as Author, and you, as the Means. Other Brunts I also look for, but this I have resolved on, to wit, to *run* when I can, to *go* when I cannot *run*, and to *creep* when I cannot *go.* As to the main, I thank him that loves me, I am fixed; my way is before me, my Mind is beyond the *River* that has no Bridg, tho I am, as you see, but of a *feeble Mind.*

1 Thes. 5. 14.

'*Mark this.*'

'*Mark this.*'

Hon. *Then said old Mr.* Honest, *Have not you some time ago, been acquainted with one Mr.* Fearing, *a* Pilgrim?

Feeble. Acquainted with him; Yes. He came from the Town of *Stupidity*, which lieth *four De-*

Mr. Fearing *Mr.* Feeble-mind's *Uncle.*

[8] Added in 1687.

grees to the Northward of the City of *Destruction*, and as many off, of where I was born; Yet we were well acquainted, for indeed he was mine Uncle, my Fathers Brother; he and I have been much of a Temper, he was a little shorter than I, but yet we were much of a Complexion.

Feeble-'[9]mind' *has some of Mr.* Fearing's *Features.*

Hon. *I perceive you know him, and I am apt to believe also that you were related one to an other; for you have his whitely Look, a Cast like his with your Eye, and your Speech is much alike.*

Feebl. Most have said so, that have known us both, and besides, what I have read in him, I have for the most part, found in my self.

Galus *Comforts him.*

Gaius. *Come Sir, said good* Gaius, *be of good Chear, you are welcome to me, and to my House; and what thou hast a mind to, call for freely; and what thou would'st have my Servants do for thee, they will do it with a ready Mind.*

Notice to be taken of Providence.

Feebl. Then said Mr. *Feeble-mind,* This is unexpected Favor, and as the Sun, shining out of a very dark Cloud. Did Gyant *Slay-good* intend me this Favor when he stop'd me, and resolved to let me go no further? Did he intend that after he had rifled my Pockets, I should go to *Gaius mine Host!* Yet so it is.

Tidings how one Not-right *was slain with a Thunder-bolt, and Mr.* Feeble-mind's *Comment upon it.*

Now, just as Mr. *Feeble-mind*, and *Gaius* was thus in talk; there comes one running and called at the Door, and told, That about a Mile and an half off, there was one Mr. *Not-right,* a Pilgrim, struck dead upon the place where he was, with a *Thunder-bolt.*

Feebl. Alas! said Mr. *Feeble-mind,* is he slain, he overtook me some days before I came so far as hither, and would be my Company-keeper. He also was with me when *Slay-good* the Gyant took me, but he was nimble of his Heels, and escaped. But it seems, he escaped to die, and I was took to live.

[9] Added in 1687.

What, one would think, doth seek to slay outright.
Ofttimes, delivers from the saddest Plight.
That very Providence, *whose Face is* Death,
Doth oft times, to the lowly, Life bequeath.
I was taken,[1] *he did escape and flee,*
Hands Crost, gives Death to him, and Life to me.

Now about this time *Matthew* and *Mercy* [2]was Married; also *Gaius* gave his Daughter *Phebe* to *James*, *Matthew's* Brother, to Wife; after which time, they yet stayed above ten days, at *Gaius*'s House, spending their time, and the Seasons, like as Pilgrims use to do.

The Pilgrims prepare to go forward.

When they were to depart, *Gaius* made them a Feast, and they did eat and drink, and were merry. Now the Hour was come that they must be gon, wherefore Mr. *Great-heart* called for a Reckoning. But *Gaius* told him that at his House, it was not the Custom for *Pilgrims* to pay for their Entertainment. He boarded them by the year, but looked for his Pay from the good *Samaritane*, who had promised him at his return, whatsoever Charge he was at with them, faithfully to repay him. Then said Mr. *Great-heart* to him.

Luke 10. 33, 34, 35.

How they greet one another at parting.

Greath. *Beloved, thou dost faithfully, whatsoever thou dost, to the Brethren and to Strangers, which have borne Witness of thy Charity before the Church, whom if thou (yet) bring forward on their Journey after a Godly sort, thou shalt do well.*

3 Joh. 6.[3]

Then *Gaius* took his Leave of them all and of his Children, and particularly of Mr. *Feeble-mind.* He also gave him something to drink by the way.

Gaius *his last kindness to* Feeble-mind.

Now Mr. *Feeble-mind*, when they were going out of the door, made as if he intended to linger. The

[1] 'I taken was,' 1687.

[2] Corrected to 'were' in the subseq. edits.

[3] By a typographical error in the first, and continued in sub. editions, this reference is to 1 Joh. 5. 6.

which, when Mr. *Great-heart* espied, he said, Come, Mr. *Feeble* '[a]*mind*,' Pray do you go along with us, I will be your *Conductor*, and you shall fair as the rest.

'Feeble-mind *for going behind.*'

Feebl. *Alas, I want a sutable Companion, you are all lusty and strong, but I, as you see, am weak; I chuse therefore rather to come behind, lest, by reason of my many Infirmities, I should be both a Burthen to my self and to you. I am, as I said, a man of a weak and feeble Mind, and shall be offended and made weak at that which others can bear. I shall like no Laughing; I shall like no gay Attire, I shall like no unprofitable Questions. Nay, I am so weak a Man, as to be offended with that which others have a liberty to do. I do not yet know all the Truth; I am a very ignorant* Christian man; *sometimes if I hear some rejoice in the Lord, it troubles me because I cannot do so too. It is with me as it is with a weak Man among the strong, or as with a sick Man among the healthy, or as a Lamp despised, (He that is ready to slip with his Feet, is as a Lamp despised in the Thought of him that is at ease.)* So that I know not what to do.

'[a] *His Excuse for it.*'

Job 12. 5.

Great-heart's *Commission.*'[a]

Greath. But Brother, said Mr. *Great-heart.* I have it in Commission, to comfort the *feeble-minded*, and to support the weak. You must needs go along with us; we will wait for you, we will lend you our help, we will deny ourselves of some things, both *Opinionative* and *Practical*, for your sake; we will not enter into Doubtful Disputations before you, we will be made all things to you rather than you shall be left behind.

1 Thes. 5. 15. Rom. 14. 1 Cor. 8.

Chap. 9. 22.

'*A Christian Spirit.*'[a]

Now, all this while they were at *Gaius's* Door; and behold as they were thus in the heat of their Discourse, Mr. *Ready-to-hault* came by, with his *Crutches* in his hand, and he also was going on Pilgrimage.

Psalm 38. 17. *Promises.*

Feebl. *Then said Mr.* Feeblemind *to him, Man!*

[a] Added in 1687.

How camest thou hither? I was but just now complaining that I had not a sutable Companion, but thou art according to my Wish. Welcome, welcome, good Mr. Ready-to-hault, *I hope thee and I may be some help.* 'Feeble-mind *glad to see* Ready-to-hault *come by.*'

Readyto. I shall be glad of thy Company, said the other; and good Mr. *Feeble-mind*, rather than we will part, since we are thus happily met, I will lend thee one of my Crutches.

Feebl. *Nay, said he, tho I thank thee for thy good Will, I am not inclined to hault* [5]*afore I am Lame. How be it, I think when occasion is, it may help me against a Dog.*

Readyto. If either my *self*, or my *Crutches* can do thee a pleasure, we are both at thy Command, good Mr. *Feeblemind.*

Thus therefore they went on, Mr. *Greatheart*, and Mr. *Honest* went before, *Christiana* and her Children went next, and Mr. *Feeble-mind*, and Mr. *Ready-to-hault* came behind with his Crutches. Then said Mr. *Honest*,

Hon. *Pray Sir, now we are upon the Road, tell us some profitable things of some that have gon on Pilgrimage before us.* '*New Talk.*'

Greath. With a good Will. I suppose you have heard how *Christian* of old, did meet with *Apollyon* in the Valley of *Humiliation*, and also what hard work he had to go thorow the Valley of the Shadow of Death. Also I think you cannot but have heard how *Faithful* was put to it with *Madam Wanton*, with *Adam* the first, with one *Discontent*, and *Shame;* four as deceitful Villains, as a man can meet with upon the Road. '1 *part from pag.* 111. *to page* 122. [70—76, and 79.]

Hon. *Yes, I have heard of all this; but indeed, good* Faithful, *was hardest put to it with shame, he was an unwearied one.*

[5] 'before,' 1687.

[6] Added in 1687.

Greath. Ai, for as the Pilgrim well said, He of all men had the wrong Name.

1 part pag. 123. [87 to 99.] Pag. 127.

Hon. *But pray Sir where was it that* Christian *and* Faithful *met* Talkative? *that same was also a notable one.*

Greath. He was a confident Fool, yet many follow his wayes.

Hon. *He had like to a beguiled* Faithful?

Greath. Ai, But *Christian* put him into a way quickly to find him out. Thus they went on till they came at the place where *Evangelist* met with *Christian* and *Faithful*, and prophecyed to them of what should befal them at Vanity-Fair.

Pag. 144. [99]

Greath. Then said their *Guide*, hereabouts did *Christian* and *Faithful* meet with *Evangelist*, who prophecyed to them of what Troubles they should meet with at Vanity-Fair.

Hon. *Say you so! I dare say it was a hard Chapter that then he did read unto them?*

1 *Part pag.* 157, &c. [110, &c.]

Greath. 'Twas so, but he gave them Incouragement withall. But what do we talk of them, they were a couple of Lyon-like Men; they had set their Faces like Flint. Don't you remember how undaunted they were when they stood before the Judg?

Hon. *Well* Faithful *bravely Suffered?*

Greath. So he did, and as brave things came on't: For *Hopeful* and some others, as the Story relates it, were Converted by his Death.

[1] Hon. *Well, but pray go on; for you are well acquainted with things.*

1 *Part pag.* 167. [117.]

Greath. Above all that *Christian* met with after he had past thorow Vanity-Fair, one *By-ends* was the arch one.

Hon. *By-Ends; What was he?*

Greath. A very arch Fellow, a down-right Hypo-

[1] By a typographical error, this is printed '*Greath.*' in the first edit., but corrected in the subsequent ones.

crite; one that would be Religious, which way ever the World went, but so cunning, that he would be sure neither to lose, nor suffer for it.

He had his *Mode* of Religion for every fresh Occasion, and his Wife was as good at it as he. He would turn and change from Opinion to Opinion; yea, and plead for so doing too. But so far as I could learn, he came to an ill End with his *By-Ends*, nor did I ever hear that any of his Children [1]was ever of any Esteem with any that truly feared God.

Now by this time, they were come within sight of the Town of *Vanity*, where Vanity-Fair is kept. So when they saw that they were so near the Town, they consulted with one another how they should pass thorow the Town, and some said one thing, and some an other. At last Mr. *Great-heart*, said, I have, as you may understand, often been a *Conductor* of Pilgrims thorow *this* Town; Now I am acquainted with one Mr. *Mnason*, a *Cyprusian* by Nation, an old Disciple, at whose House we may Lodg. If you think good, said he, we will turn in there?

They are come within Sight of Vanity. Psal. 21. 16.

They enter into one Mr. Mnasons *to Lodg.*

Content, said Old *Honest;* Content, said *Christiana;* Content, said Mr. *Feeble mind;* and so they said all. Now you must think it was *Even-tide*, by that they got to the outside of the Town. but Mr. *Great-heart* knew the way to the Old Man's House. So thither they came; and he called at the Door, and the old Man within knew his Tongue so soon as ever he heard it; so he opened, and they all came in. Then said *Mnason* their Host, How far have ye come to day? so they said, from the House of *Gaius* our Friend. I promise you, said he, you have gone a good stitch, you may well be a weary; sit down. So they sat down.

[1] 'were,' 1687.

They are glad of entertainment.

Greath. *Then said their Guide, Come, what Chear Sirs, I dare say you are welcome to my Friend.*

Mna. I also, said Mr. *Mnason*, do bid you Welcome; and what ever you want, do but say, and we will do what we can to get it for you.

Hon. *Our great Want, a while since, was Harbor, and good Company, and now I hope we have both.*

Mna. For Harbor you see what it is, but for good Company, that will appear in the Tryal.

Greath. *Well, said Mr. Great-heart, will you have the Pilgrims up into their Lodging?*

Mna. I will, said Mr. *Mnason.* So he had them to their respective Places; and also shewed them a very fair Dining-Room where they might be and sup together, until time was come to go to Rest.

Now when they were set in their places, and were a little cheary after their Journey, Mr. *Honest* asked his Landlord if there were any store of good People in the Town?

Mna. We have a few, for indeed they are but a few, when compared with them on the other Side.

They Desire to see some of the good People in the Town.

Hon. But how shall we do to see some of them? for the Sight of good Men to them that are going on Pilgrimage, is like to the appearing of the Moon and the Stars to them that are sailing upon the Seas.

Mna. Then Mr. *Mnason* stamped with his Foot, and his Daughter *Grace* came up; so he said unto her, *Grace* go you, tell my Friends, Mr. *Contrite*, Mr. *Holy-man*, Mr. *Love-saint*, Mr. *Dare-not-ly*, and Mr. *Penitent*; That I have a Friend or two at my House, that have a mind this Evening to see them.

Some sent for.

So *Grace* went to call them, and they came, and after Salutation made, they sat down together at the Table.

Then said Mr. *Mnason*, their Landlord, My Neighbours, I have, as you see, a company of *Strangers* come to my House, they are *Pilgrims*: They come from a far, and are going to Mount

Sion. But who, quoth he, do you think this is? pointing with his Finger to *Christiana.* It is *Christiana,* the Wife of *Christian,* that famous Pilgrim, who with *Faithful* his Brother were so shamefully handled in our Town. At that they stood amazed, saying, we little thought to see *Christiana,* when *Grace* came to call us, wherefore this is a very comfortable Surprize. Then they asked her of her wellfare, and if these young Men were her Husbands Sons. And when she had told them they were; they said, The King whom you love, and serve, make you as your Father, and bring you where he is in Peace.

Some Talk betwixt Mr. Honest *and* Contrite.

Hon. Then Mr. *Honest (when they were all sat down) asked Mr.* Contrite *and the rest, in what posture their Town was at present.*

Cont. You may be sure we are full of Hurry, in Fair time. 'Tis hard keeping our Hearts and Spirits in any good Order, when we are in a cumbred Condition. He that lives in such a place as this is, and that has to do with such as we have, has Need of an Itum, to caution him to take heed, every Moment of the Day.

'The Fruit of Watchfulness.'[1]

Hon. *But how are your Neighbors for quietness?*

Cont. They are much more moderate now than formerly. You know how *Christian* and *Faithful* were used at our Town; but of late, I say, they have been far more moderate. I think the Blood of *Faithful* lieth with load upon them till now; for since they burned him, they have been ashamed to burn any more: In those Days we were afraid to walk the Streets, but *now* we can shew our Heads. *Then* the Name of a Professor was odious, *now* specially in some parts of our Town (for you know our Town is large) Religion is counted Honourable.

Persecution not so hot at Vanity-Fair as formerly.

Then said Mr. Contrite *to them, Pray how faireth*

[1] Added in 1687.

it with you in your Pilgrimage, how stands the Country affected towards you?

Hon. It happens to us, as it happeneth to Way-fairing men; sometimes our way is clean, sometimes foul; sometimes up hill, sometimes down hill; We are seldom at a Certainty. The Wind is not always on our Backs, nor is every one a Friend that we meet with in the Way. We have met with some notable Rubs already; and what are yet behind we know not, but for the most part we find it true, that has been talked of of old: *A good Man must suffer Trouble.*

Contrit. You talk of Rubs, what Rubs have you met withal?

Hon. Nay, ask Mr. *Great-heart*, our Guide, for he can give the best Account of that.

Greath. We have been beset three or four times already: First *Christiana* and her Children were beset with two Ruffians, that they feared would a took away their Lives; We was beset with Gyant *Bloody-man*, Gyant *Maul*, and Gyant *Slay-good*. Indeed we did rather beset the last, than were beset of him. And thus it was: After we had been some time at the House of *Gaius, mine Host and of the whole Church*, we were minded upon a time to take our Weapons with us, and so go see if we could light upon any of those that were Enemies to Pilgrims; (for we heard that there was a notable one thereabouts.) Now *Gaius* knew his *Haunt* better than I, because he dwelt thereabout, so we looked and looked, till at last we discerned the Mouth of his Cave; then we were glad and pluck'd up our Spirits. So we approached up to his *Den*, and lo when we came there, he had dragged by meer force into his Net, this *poor man*, Mr. *Feeble-mind*, and was about to bring him to his End. But when he saw us, supposing, as we thought, he had had an other Prey,

he left the poor man in his Hole, and came out. So we fell to it full sore, and he lustily laid about him; but, in conclusion, he was brought down to the Ground, and his Head cut off, and set up by the Way side for a Terror to such as should after practise such Ungodliness. That I tell you the Truth, here is the man himself to affirm it, who was as a Lamb taken out of the Mouth of the Lyon.

Feebl. *Then said Mr.* Feeble-mind, *I found this true to my Cost, and Comfort; to my Cost, when he threatned to pick my Bones every Moment, and to my Comfort, when I saw Mr.* Great-heart *and his Friends with their Weapons approach so* [1]*neer for my* Deliverance.

Holym. Then said Mr. *Holy-man,* there are two things that they have need to be possessed with that go on Pilgrimage, *Courage,* and an *unspotted Life.* If they have not *Courage,* they can never hold on their way; and if their Lives be *loose,* they will make the very Name of a *Pilgrim* stink. *Mr.* Holy-man's *Speech.*

Loves. Then said Mr. *Love-saint;* I hope this Caution is not needful amongst you. But truly there are many that go upon the Road, that rather declare themselves Strangers, to Pilgrimage, than Strangers and Pilgrims in the Earth. *Mr.* Love-saint's *Speech.*

Dareno. *Then said Mr.* Dare-not-ly, *'Tis true; they neither have the Pilgrims* Weed, *nor the Pilgrims Courage; they go not uprightly, but all* awrie *with their Feet, one shoo goes* inward, *an other* outward, *and their Hosen out behind;* there a *Rag,* and there a *Rent,* to the Disparagement of their Lord. *Mr.* Dare-not-ly *his Speech.*

Penit. These things said Mr. *Penitent,* they ought to be troubled for, nor are the Pilgrims like to have that Grace put upon them and their pilgrims Progress, as they desire, until the way is cleared of such Spots and Blemishes. *Mr.* Penitent *his Speech.*

Thus they sat talking and spending the time,

[1] 'so near,' 1687.

until Supper was set upon the Table. Unto which they went and refreshed their weary Bodys, so they went to Rest. Now they stayed in this Fair a great while, at the House of this Mr. *Mnason*, who in process of time, gave his Daughter *Grace* unto [1]*Simon*, *Christiana's* Son, to Wife, and his Daughter *Martha* to *Joseph*.

The time as I said, that they lay here, was long (for it was not now as in former times.) Wherefore the *Pilgrims* grew acquainted with many of the good People of the Town, and did them what Service they could. *Mercy*, as she was wont, laboured much for the Poor, wherefore their Bellys and Backs blessed her, and she was there an Ornament to her Profession. And to say the truth, for *Grace*, *Phebe*, and *Martha*, they were all of a very good Nature, and did much good in their place. They were all[2] also of them very Fruitful, so that *Christian's* Name, as was said before, was like to live in the World.

A Monster. While they lay here, there came a *Monster* out of the Woods, and slew many of the People of the Town. It would also carry away their Children, and teach them to suck its Whelps. Now no Man in the Town durst so much as face this *Monster*; but all Men fled when they heard of the noise of his coming.

Rev. 17. 3. *His Shape. His Nature.* The *Monster* was like unto no one Beast upon the Earth. Its Body was like a Dragon, and it had seven Heads and ten Horns. *It made great havock of Children, and yet it was governed by a Woman.* This *Monster* propounded Conditions to men; and such men as loved their Lives more then their Souls, accepted of those Conditions. So they came under.

Now this Mr. *Great heart*, together with these that

[1] Corrected to 'Samuel,' in the succeeding editions.

[2] 'also all,' 1687.

came to visit the Pilgrims at Mr. *Mnason*'s House, entered into a Covenant to go and ingage this Beast, if perhaps they might deliver the People of this Town, from the Paw[3] and Mouths of this so devouring a Serpent.

Then did Mr. *Great-heart, Mr. Contrite, Mr. Holyman, Mr. Dare-not-ly,* and *Mr. Penitent,* with their Weapons go forth to meet him. Now the *Monster* at first was very Rampant, and looked upon these Enemies with great Disdain, but they so belabored him, being sturdy men at Arms, that they made him make a Retreat; so they came home to Mr. *Mnason*'s House again. *How he is ingaged.*

The *Monster*, you must know had his certain Seasons to come out in, and to make his Attempts upon the Children of the People of the Town; also these Seasons did these valiant Worthies watch him in, and did still continually assault him; in so much, that in process of time, he became not only wounded, but lame; also he has not made that havock of the Towns mens Children, as formerly he has done. And it is verily believed by some, that this Beast will die of his Wounds.

This therefore made Mr. *Great-heart* and his Fellows, of great Fame in this Town, so that many of the People that wanted their tast of things, yet had a reverend Esteem and Respect for them. Upon this account therefore it was that these Pilgrims got not much hurt here. True, there were some of the baser sort that could see no more than a *Mole,* nor understand more than a Beast, these had no reverence for these men, nor took they notice of their Valour or Adventures.

Well, the time grew on that the Pilgrims must go on their way, wherefore they prepared for their Journey. They sent for their Friends, they conferred with them, they had some time set apart;

[3] 'Paws and Mouth,' 1687.

therein to commit each other to the protection of their Prince. There was again, that brought them of such things as they had, that was fit for the weak, and the strong, for the Women, and the men; and so *laded* them with such things as was necessary.

Acts 28. 10.

Then they set forwards on their way, and their Friends accompanying them so far as was convenient; they again committed each other to the Protection of their King, and parted.

They therefore that were of the Pilgrims Company went on, and Mr. *Great-heart* went before them; now the Women and Children being weakly, they were forced to go as they could bear, by this means *Mr. Ready-to-hault,* and *Mr. Feeble-mind,* had more to sympathize with their Condition.

When they were gone from the Towns-men, and when their Friends had bid them farewel, they quickly came to the place where *Faithful* was put to Death. There therefore they made a stand, and thanked him that had enabled him to bear his Cross so well, and the rather, because they now found that they had a benefit by such a Manly Suffering as his was.

They went on therefore after this, a good way further, talking of *Christian* and *Faithful,* and how *Hopeful* joyned himself to *Christian* after that *Faithful* was dead.

Now they were come up with the *Hill Lucre,* where the *Silver-mine* was, which took *Demas* off from his Pilgrimage, and into which, as some think, *By-ends* fell and perished; wherefore they considered that. But when they were come to the old Monument that stood over against the *Hill Lucre,* to wit, to the Pillar of Salt that stood also within view of *Sodom,* and its stinking Lake; they marvelled, as did *Christian* before, that men of that Knowledg and ripeness of Wit as they was, should be so blinded as to turn aside here. Only they

1 *Part pag.* 185. [126.]

considered again, that Nature is not affected with the Harms that others have met with, specially if that thing upon which they look, has an attracting Virtue upon the foolish Eye.

I saw now that they went on till they came at the River that was on this Side of the delectable Mountains. To the River where the fine Trees grow on both sides, and whose Leaves, if taken inwardly, are good against Surfits; where the Medows are green all the year long, and where they might lie down safely. [1] *Part pag.* 189. [131.] Psal. 23.

By this River side in the medow, there were Cotes and Folds for Sheep, an House built for the *nourishing*, and bringing up of those Lambs, the Babes of those Women that go on Pilgrimage. Also there was here one that was intrusted with them, who could have compassion, and that could gather these Lambs with his Arm, and carry them in his Bosom, and that could gently lead those that were with young. Now to the Care of *this Man*, *Christiana* admonished her four Daughters to commit their little ones; that by these Waters they might be housed, harbored, suckered, and nourished, and that none of them might *be lacking in time to come*. This *man*, if any of them go astray, or be lost, he will bring them again, he will also bind up that which was broken, and will strengthen them that are sick. Here they will never want Meat and Drink and Cloathing, here they will be kept from Thieves and Robbers, for this man will die before one of those committed to his Trust, shall be lost. Besides, here they shall besure to have good [1]*Nurtriture* and Admonition, and shall be taught to walk in right Paths, and that you know is a Favour of no small account. Also here, as you see, are delicate *Waters*, pleasant *Medows*, dainty *Flowers*, Variety of *Trees*, and such as bear Heb. 5. 2. Isa. 40. 11. Jer. 23. 4. Ezek. 34. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.

[1] 'Good Nurture,' 1687.

wholsom Fruit. Fruit, not like that that *Matthew* eat of, that fell over the Wall out of *Belzebubs* Garden, but Fruit that procureth Health where there is none, and that continueth and increaseth it where it is.

So they were content to commit their little Ones to him; and that which was also an Incouragement to them so to do, was, for that all this was to be at the Charge of the King, [2]and so was as an Hospital to young Children, and *Orphans.*

They being come to By-path *Stile, have a mind to have a pluck with* Gyant Dispair. 1 *Part, pag.* 191. 195. [134—142].

Now they went on: And when they were come to *By-path* Medow, to the Stile over which *Christian* went with his Fellow *Hopeful*, when they were taken by *Gyant dispair*, and put into *doubting* Castle: They sat down and consulted what was best to be done, to wit, now they were so strong, and had got such a man as Mr. *Great-heart* for their Conductor; whether they had not best to make an Attempt upon the Gyant, demolish his Castle, and if there were any Pilgrims in it, to set them at liberty before they went any further. So one said one thing, and an other said the contrary. One questioned if it was lawful to go upon *unconsecrated* Ground, an other said they might, provided their end was good; but Mr. *Great-heart* said, Though that Assertion offered last, cannot be universally true, yet I have a Commandment to resist Sin, to overcome Evil, to fight the good Fight of Faith. And I pray, with whom should I fight this good Fight, if not with *Gyant dispair?* I will therefore attempt the taking away of his Life, and the demolishing of *Doubting* Castle. Then said he, who will go with me? Then said old *Honest*, I will, and so will we too, said *Christian*'s four Sons, *Matthew*, [3]*Simon*, *James*, and *Joseph*, for they were young men and strong.

1 John 2. 13, 14.

So they left the Women in the Road, and with

[2] 'and so was an Hospital,' 1687. [3] 'Altered to 'Samuel,' 1687.

them Mr. *Feeble-mind*, and Mr. *Ready-to-halt*, with his Crutches, to be their Guard, until they came back, for in that place tho *Gyant-Dispair* dwelt so near, they keeping in the Road, *A little Child might lead them.* Isa. 11. 6.

So Mr. *Great-heart*, old *Honest*, and the four young men, went to go up to *Doubting*-Castle, to look for *Gyant-Dispair*. When they came at the Castle Gate they knocked for Entrance with an unusual Noyse. At that the old *Gyant* comes to the Gate, and *Diffidence* his Wife follows, Then said he, Who, and what is he, that is so hardy, as after this manner to molest the *Gyant-Dispair?* Mr. *Great-heart* replyed, It is I, *Great-heart*, one of the King of the Celestial Countries Conductors of Pilgrims to their Place. And I demand of thee that thou open thy Gates for my Entrance, prepare thy self also to Fight, for I am come to take away thy Head, and to demolish *Doubting* Castle.

Now *Gyant-Dispair*, because he was a *Gyant*, thought no man could overcome him, and again, thought he, since heretofore I have made a Conquest of Angels, shall *Great-heart* make me afraid? So he harnessed himself and went out. He had a Cap of Steel upon his Head, a Brest-plate of Fire girded to him, and he came out in Iron-Shoos, with a great Club in his Hand. Then these six men made up to him, and beset him behind and before; also when *Diffidence*, the *Gyantess*, came up to help him, old Mr. *Honest* cut her down at one Blow. Then they fought for their Lives, and *Gyant Dispair* was brought down to the Ground, *but was very loth to die.* He strugled hard, and had, as they say, as many Lives as a Cat, but *Great-heart* was his death, for he left him not till he had severed his Head from his shoulders.

Dispair *has overcome Angels.*

Dispair *is loth to die.*

Then they fell to demolishing *Doubting*-Castle, and that you know might with ease be done, since

Doubting-Castle *demolished.*

Gyant-Dispair was dead. They [4]was seven Days in destroying of that; and in it of Pilgrims, they found one Mr. *Dispondencie*, almost starved to Death, and one *Much-afraid* his Daughter; these two they saved alive. But it would a made you a wondered to have seen the dead Bodies that lay here and there in the Castle Yard, and how full of dead mens Bones the Dungeon was.

When Mr. *Great-heart* and his Companions had performed this Exploit, they took Mr. *Dispondencie*, and his Daughter *Much-afraid*, into their Protection, for they were honest People, tho they were Prisoners in *Doubting-Castle* to that Tyrant *Gyant Dispair*. They therefore I say, took with them the Head of the Gyant (for his Body they had buried under a heap of Stones) and down to the Road and to their Companions they came, and shewed them what they had done. Now when *Feeble-mind* and *Ready-to-halt* saw that it was the Head of *Gyant-Dispair* indeed, they were very jocond and merry. Now *Christiana*, if need was, could play upon the *Vial*, and her Daughter *Mercy* upon the *Lute:* So, since they were so merry disposed, she plaid them a Lesson, and *Ready-to-halt* would Dance. So he took *Dispondencies* Daughter, named *Much-afraid*, by the Hand, and to dancing they went in the Road. True he could not dance without one Crutch in his Hand, but I promise you, he footed it well; also the Girl was to be commended, for she answered the Musick hansomely.

They have musick and dancing for Joy.

As for Mr. *Despondencie*, the Musick was not much to him, he was for feeding rather than dancing, for that he was almost starved. So *Christiana* gave him some of her Bottle of Spirits for present Relief, and then prepared him something to eat; and in little time the old Gentleman came to himself, and began to be finely revived.

[4] 'They were,' 1687.



Tho doubting Castle be demolished
And the Gyant dispair hath lost his head
Sin can rebuild the Castle, make't remaine,
And make despair the Gyant live againe.

This was originally engraved on copper, but after 1687 it was replaced by the wood-cut from which this is copied.

Now I saw in my Dream, when all these things were finished, Mr. *Great-heart* took the Head of *Gyant-Dispair*, and set it upon a Pole by the High-way side, right over against the Piller that *Christian* erected for a *Caution* to Pilgrims that came after, to take heed of entering into his Grounds.

Then he writ under it upon a *Marble*-stone, these Verses following.

A Monument of Deliverance.

This is the Head *of* him, *Whose* Name *only*
In former times, did Pilgrims *terrify.*
His Castle's *down, and* Diffidence *his Wife,*
Brave Master Great-heart *has bereft of Life.*
Despondencie, *his Daughter*, Much-afraid ;
Great-heart, *for them, also the Man has plaid.*
Who hereof doubts, if he'l but cast his Eye,
Up hither, may his Scruples satisfy.
This Head, also when doubting Cripples dance,
Doth shew from Fears they have Deliverance.

When these men had thus bravely shewed themselves against *Doubting Castle*, and had slain *Gyant Dispair*, they went forward, and went on till they came to the *Delectable* Mountains, where *Christian* and *Hopeful* refreshed themselves with the Varieties of the Place. They also acquainted themselves with the Shepherds there, who welcomed them as they had done *Christian* before, unto the delectable Mountains.

Now the Shepherds seeing so great a train follow Mr. *Great-heart* (for with him they were well acquainted;) they said unto him, Good Sir, you have got a goodly Company here ; pray where did you find all these ?

Then Mr. *Great-heart* replyed,

The Guides Speech to the Shepherds.

First here's Christiana *and her train,*
Her Sons, and her Sons Wives, who like the Wain,

Keep by the Pole, and do by Compass [5]*stere,*
From Sin to Grace, else they had not been here.
Next here's old Honest *come on Pilgrimage,*
Ready-to-halt *too, who I dare ingage,*
True hearted is, and so is Feeble-mind,
Who willing was, not to be left behind.
Dispondencie, *good-man, is coming after,*
And so also is Much-afraid, *his Daughter.*
May we have Entertainment here, or must
We further go? let's know whereon to trust?

Then said the Shepherds; This is a comfortable Company, you are welcome to us, for we have for the *Feeble*, as for the *Strong;* our Prince has an Eye to what is done to the least of these. Therefore Infirmity must not be a block to our Entertainment. So they had them to the Palace Door, and then said unto them, Come in *Mr. Feeble-mind*, come in *Mr. Ready-to-halt*, come in *Mr. Dispondencie*, and *Mrs. Much-afraid*, his Daughter. *These Mr. Great-heart*, said the Shepherds to the Guide, we call in by name, for that they are most subject to draw back; but as for you, and the rest that are *strong*, we leave you to your wonted Liberty. Then said *Mr. Great-heart*, This day I see that Grace doth shine in your Faces, and that you are my Lords Shepherds indeed; for that you have not *pushed* these Diseased neither with Side nor Shoulder, but have rather strewed their way into the Palace with Flowers, as you should.

Their Entertainment. Mat. 25. 40

A Description of false Shepherds. Ezek. 34. 21.

So the Feeble and weak went in, and *Mr. Great-heart*, and the rest did follow. When they were also set down, the Shepherds said to those of the weakest sort, what is it that you would have? For said they, all things must be managed here, to the supporting of the weak, as well as the warning of the Unruly.

[5] 'steer,' 1687.

So they made them a Feast of things, easy of Digestion, and that were pleasant to the Palate, and nourishing; the which when they had received, they went to their rest, each one respectively unto his proper place. When Morning was come, because the mountains were high, and the day clear; and because it was the Custom of the Shepherds to shew to the Pilgrims, before their Departure, some Rarities; therefore after they were ready, and had refreshed themselves, the Shepherds took them out into the Fields, and shewed them first, what they had shewed to *Christian* before.

Mount Marvel. Then they had them to some new places. The first was to *Mount-Marvel*, where they looked, and beheld a man at a Distance, *that tumbled the Hills about with Words*. Then they asked the Shepherds what that should mean? So they told him, that that man was the Son of one *Great-grace*, of whom you read in the first part of the Records of the *Pilgrims Progress*. And he is set there to teach Pilgrims how to believe down, or to tumble out of their ways, what Difficulties they shall meet with, by faith. Then said *Mr. Great-heart*, I know him, he is a man above many.

1 Part, page 226. [151.]

Mark 11. 23, 24.

Mount Innocent. Then they had them to another place, called *Mount Innocent*. And there they saw a man cloathed all in White; and two men, *Prejudice*, and *Ill-will*, continually casting Dirt upon him. Now behold the Dirt, whatsoever they cast at him, would in little time fall off again, and his Garment would look as clear as if no Dirt had been cast thereat.

Then said the Pilgrims what means this? The Shepherds answered, This Man is named *Godly-man*, and this Garment is to shew the Innocency of his Life. Now those that throw Dirt at him, are such as hate his *Well-doing*, but as you see the Dirt will not stick upon his Cloths, so it shall be with him that liveth truly Innocently in the World.

Whoever they be that would make such men dirty, they labor all in vain; for God, by that a little time is spent, will cause that their *Innocence* shall break forth as the Light, and their Righteousness as the Noon day.

Then they took them, and had them to *Mount-Charity*, where they shewed them a man that had a bundle of Cloth lying before him, out of which he cut Coats and Garments, for the Poor that stood about him; yet his Bundle or Role of Cloth was never the less. *Mount Charity.*

Then said they, what should this be? This is, said the Shepherds, to shew you, That he that has a Heart to give of his Labor to the Poor, shall never want where-withal. He that watereth shall be watered himself. And the Cake that the Widdow gave to the Prophet, did not cause that she had ever the less in her Barrel.

They had them also to a place where they saw one *Fool*, and one *Want-wit*, washing of an *Ethiopian* with intention to make him white, but the more they washed him, the blacker he was. They then asked the Shepherds what that should mean. So they told them, saying, Thus shall it be with the vile Person; all means used to get such an one a good Name, shall in conclusion tend but to make him more abominable. Thus it was with the *Pharises*, and so shall 'it'[5] be with all Hypocrites. *'The work of one Fool, and one Want-wit.'*[5]

Then said *Mercy* the Wife of *Matthew*, to *Christiana* her Mother, Mother, I would, if it might be, see the hole in the Hill; or that, commonly called, the *By-way* to Hell. So her Mother brake her mind to the Shepherds. Then they went to the Door; it was in the side of an Hill, and they opened it, and bid *Mercy* hearken awhile. So she harkened, and heard one saying, *Cursed be my Father for holding of my Feet back from the way of Peace* 1 Part, pag. 211. [146]. *Mercy has a mind to see the hole in the Hill.*

[5] Inserted in 1687.

and Life; and an other said, *O that I had been torn in pieces before I had, to save my Life, lost my Soul;* and an other said, *If I were to live again, how would I deny my self rather then come to this place.* Then there was as if the very Earth had groaned, and quaked under the Feet of this young Woman for fear; so she looked white, and came trembling away, saying, Blessed be he and she that is delivered from this Place.

Now when the Shepherds had shewed them all these things, then they had them back to the Palace, and entertained them with what the House would afford; But *Mercy* being a young and breeding Woman, Longed for something that she saw there, but was ashamed to ask. Her Mother-in-law then asked her what she ailed, for she looked as one not well. Then said *Mercy, There is a Looking-glass hangs up in the Dining-room,* off of which I cannot take my mind; if therefore I have it not, I think I shall Miscarry. Then said her Mother, I will mention thy Wants to the Shepherds, and they will not deny it thee. But she said, I am ashamed that these men should know that I longed. Nay my Daughter, said she, it is no Shame, but a Virtue, to long for such a thing as that; so *Mercy* said, Then Mother, if you please, ask the Shepherds if they are willing to sell it.

Mercy *longeth and for what.*

Now the Glass was one of a thousand. It would present a man, one way, with his own Feature exactly, and turn it but another way, and it would shew one the very Face and Similitude of the Prince of Pilgrims himself. Yea I have talked with them that can tell, and they have said, that they have seen the very Crown of Thorns upon his Head, by looking in that Glass, they have therein also seen the holes in his Hands, in his Feet, and his Side. Yea such an excellency is there in that Glass, that it will shew him to one where they have

It was the Word of God. James 1. 23.

1 Cor. 13. 12.

2 Cor. 3. 18.

a mind to see him; whether living or dead, whether in Earth or Heaven, whether in a State of Humiliation, or in his Exaltation, whether coming to Suffer, or coming to Reign.

Christiana therefore went to the Shepherds apart. (Now the Names of the Shepherds are *Knowledge*, *Experience*, *Watchful*, and *Sincere*) and said unto them, There is one of my Daughters a breeding Woman, that, I think doth long for something that she hath seen in this House, and she thinks she shall miscarry if she should by you be denyed. 1 Part, pag. 207. [144.]

Experience. Call her, call her, She shall assuredly have what we can help her to. So they called her, and said to her, *Mercy*, what is that thing thou wouldest have? Then she blushed and said, The great Glass that hangs up in the Dining-room, so *Sincere* ran and fetched it, and with a joyful Consent it was given her. Then she bowed her Head and gave Thanks, and said, by this I know that I have obtained Favor in your Eyes. *She doth not lose her Longing.*

They also gave to the other young Women such things as they desired, and to their Husbands great Commendations for that they joyned with Mr. *Great-heart* to the slaying of *Gyant-Dispair*, and the demolishing of *Doubting-Castle*.

About *Christiana*'s Neck, the Shepherds put a Bracelet, and so they did about the Necks of her four Daughters, also they put Ear-rings in their Ears, and Jewels on their Fore-heads. *'How the Shepherds adorn the Pilgrims.'* [6]

When they were minded to go hence. They let them go in Peace, but gave not to them those certain Cautions which before [7]was given to *Christian* and his Companion. The Reason was, for that these had *Great-heart* to be their Guide, who was one that was well acquainted with things, and so could give them their Cautions more seasonably, to 1 Part, pag. 213. [148.]

[6] Added in 1687.

[7] 'were given,' 1687.

wit, even then when the Danger was nigh the approaching.

1 Part, pag. 233. [160.] What Cautions *Christian* and his Companions had received of the Shepherds, they had also lost; by that the time was come that they had need to put them in practise. Wherefore here was the Advantage that this Company had over the other.

From hence they went on Singing, and they said,

Behold, how fitly *are the Stages set!*
For their Relief, that Pilgrims are become;
And how they us *receive without* one *let,*
That make the other *Life, our* Mark *and Home.*
What Novelties *they have, to* us *they give,*
That we, tho *Pilgrims, joyful Lives may Live,*
They do upon us too such things bestow,
That shew we Pilgrims are, where ere we go.

1 Part, pag. 216. [150.] When they were gone from the Shepherds, they quickly came to the place where *Christian* met with one *Turn-away*, that dwelt in the Town of *Apostacy*. Wherefore of him Mr. *Great-heart* their Guide did now put them in mind; saying, This is the place where *Christian* met with one *Turn-a-way*, who carried with him, the Character of his Rebellion at his Back. And this I have to say concerning this man, He would harken to no Counsel, but once afalling, perswasion could not stop him. When he came to the place where the Cross and the Sepulcher was, he did meet with one that did bid him *look there*, but he gnashed with his Teeth, and stamped, and said, he was resolved to go back to his own Town. Before he came to the Gate, he met with *Evangelist*, who offered to lay Hands on him, to turn him into the way again. But this *Turn-a-way resisted him*, and having done much

How one Turn-a-way managed his Apostacy.

Heb. 10. 26, 27, 28, 29.

despite unto him, he got away over the Wall, and so escaped his Hand.

Then they went on, and just at the place where *Little-faith* formerly was Robbed, there stood a man with his Sword drawn, and his Face all bloody. Then said Mr. *Great-heart*, What art thou? The man made Answer, saying, I am one whose Name is *Valiant-for-Truth*. I am a Pilgrim, and am going to the Celestial City. Now as I was in my way, there was three men did beset me, and propounded unto me these three things. 1. Whether I would become one of them? 2. Or go back from whence I came? 3. Or die upon the place? To the first I answered, I had been a true Man a long Season, and therefore, it could not be expected that I now should cast in my Lot with Thieves. Then they demanded what I would say to the second. So I told them that the Place from whence I came, had I not found Incommodity there, I had not forsaken it at all, but finding it altogether unsutable to me, and very unprofitable for me, I forsook it for this Way. Then they asked me what I said to the third. And I told them, my Life cost more dear far, than that I should lightly give it away. Besides, you have nothing to do thus to put things to my Choice; wherefore at your Peril be it, if you meddle. Then these three, to wit, *Wild-head*, *Inconsiderate*, and *Pragmatick*, drew upon me, and I also drew upon them.

'[7] *One* Valiant-for-Truth *beset with Thieves.*'

Prov. 1. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

So we fell to it, one against three, for the space of above three Hours. They have left upon me, as you see, some of the Marks of their Valour, and have also carried away with them some of mine. They are but just now gone. I suppose they might, as the saying is, hear your Horse dash, and so they betook them to flight.

'[7] *How he behaved himself, and put them to flight.*'

[7] Added in 1687.

[5] Great-heart *wonders at his Valour.*'

Greath. *But here was great Odds, three against one.*

Valiant. 'Tis true, but *little* and *more*, are nothing
Psalm 27. 3. to him that has the Truth on his side. *Though an Host should encamp against me, said one, my Heart shall not fear. Tho War should rise against me, in this will I be Confident*, &c. Besides, said he, I have read in some Records, that one man has fought an Army; and how many did *Sampson* slay with the Jaw-Bone of an Ass.

Greath. *Then said the Guide, Why did you not cry out, that some might a came in for your Succour.*

Valiant. So I did, to my King, who I knew could hear, and afford invisible Help, and that was sufficient for me.

Greath. *Then said* Great-heart *to Mr.* Valiant-for-truth, *Thou hast worthily behaved thy self; Let me see thy Sword; so he shewed it him.*

Isa. 2. 3. When he had taken it in his Hand, and looked thereon a while, he said, Ha! *It is a right* Jerusalem *Blade.*

Valiant. It is so. Let a man have one of *these*
Ephes. 6, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17. Heb 4. 12. *Blades*, with a Hand to wield it, and skill to use it, and he may venture upon an Angel with it. He need not fear its holding, if he can but tell how to lay on. Its Edges will never blunt. It will cut *Flesh*, and *Bones*, and *Soul*, and *Spirit*, and all.

Greath. *But you fought a great while, I wonder you was not weary?*

2 Sam. 23. 10. *Valiant.* I fought till my Sword did cleave to my Hand, and when they were joyned together, as if
The Word. The Faith. Blood. a Sword grew out of my Arm, and when the Blood run thorow my Fingers, then I fought with most Courage.

Greath. *Thou hast done well, thou hast resisted unto Blood, striving against Sin. Thou shalt abide*

[5] Added in 1687.

by us, come in, and go out with us; for we are thy Companions.

Then they took him and washed his Wounds, and gave him of what they had, to refresh him, and so they went on together. Now as they went on, because Mr. *Great-heart* was delighted in him (for he loved one greatly that he found to be a man of his Hands) and because there was with his Company, them that was feeble and weak; Therefore he questioned with him about many things; as first, *what Country-man he was?*

Valiant I am of *Dark-land*, for there I was born, and there my Father and Mother are still.

Greath. *Dark-land*, said the Guide, *Doth not that ly upon the same Coast with the City of* Destruction?

How Mr. Valiant came to go on Pilgrimage.

Valiant. Yes it doth. Now that which caused me to come on Pilgrimage, was this, We had one Mr. *Tell-true* came in to our parts, and he told it about, what *Christian* had done, that went from the City of *Destruction*. Namely, how he had forsaken his *Wife* and *Children*, and had betaken himself to a *Pilgrim*'s Life. It was also confidently reported how he had killed a *Serpent* that did come out to resist him in his Journey, and how he got thorow to whither he intended. It was also told what Welcome he had at all his Lords Lodgings; specially when he came to the Gates of the Celestial City. For there, said the man, He was received with sound of Trumpet, by a company of shining ones. He told it also, how all the Bells in the City did ring for Joy at his Reception, and what Golden Garments he was cloathed with; with many other things that now I shall forbear to relate. In a word, that man so told the Story of *Christian* and his Travels, that my Heart fell into a burning hast to be gone after him, nor could Father or Mother stay me, so I got from them, and am come thus far on my Way.

Greath. *You came in at the Gate, did you not?*

He begins right. *Valiant.* Yes, yes. For the same man also told us, that all would be nothing, if we did not begin to enter this way at the Gate.

Christian's Name famous. Greath. *Look you, said the Guide, to* Christiana, *The Pilgrimage of your Husband, and what he has gotten thereby, is spread abroad far and near.*

Valiant. Why, is this *Christian*'s Wife?

Greath. *Yes, That it is; and these are also her four Sons.*

Valiant. What! and going on Pilgrimage too?

Greath. *Yes verily, they are following after.*

He is much rejoyced to see Christian's *Wife.* *Valiant.* It glads me at Heart! Good man! How Joyful will he be, when he shall see them that would not go with him, yet to enter after him, in at the Gates into the City?

Greath. *Without doubt it will be a Comfort to him; For next to the Joy of seeing himself there, it will be a Joy to meet there his Wife and his Children.*

Valiant. But now you are upon that, pray let me hear your Opinion about it. Some make a Question whether we shall know one another when we are there?

Greath. *Do they think they shall know themselves then? Or that they shall rejoyce to see themselves in that Bliss? And if they think they shall know and do these; Why not know others, and rejoyce in their Welfare also?*

Again, Since Relations are our second self, tho that State will be dissolved there, yet why may it not be rationally concluded that we shall be more glad to see them there, then to see they are wanting?

Valiant. Well, I perceive whereabouts you are as to this. Have you any more things to ask me about my beginning to come on Pilgrimage?

Greath. *Yes, Was your Father and Mother willing that you should become a Pilgrim?*

Valiant. Oh, no. They used all means imaginable to perswade me to stay at Home.

Greath. *Why, what could they say against it?*

Valiant. They said it was an idle Life, and if I my self were not inclined to Sloath and Laziness, I would never countenance a Pilgrim's Condition. *The great stumbling-Blocks that by his Friends were laid in his way.*

Greath. *And what did they say else?*

Valiant. Why, They told me, That it was a dangerous Way, yea the most dangerous Way in the World, said they, is that which the Pilgrims go.

Greath. *Did they show wherein this way is so dangerous?*

Valiant. Yes. And that in many Particulars.

Greath. *Name some of them.*

Valiant. They told me of the Slow of *Dispond*, where *Christian* was well-nigh smuthered. They told me that there were Archers standing ready in *Belzebub-Castle*, to shoot them that should knock at the *Wicket*-Gate for Entrance. They told me also of the Wood, and dark Mountains, of the Hill *Difficulty*, of the Lyons, and also of the three Gyants, *Bloody-man*, *Maul*, and *Slay-good*. They said moreover, that there was a foul *Fiend* haunted the Valley of *Humiliation*, and that *Christian* was, by him, almost bereft of Life. Besides, said they, You must go over the *Valley of the Shadow of Death*, where the *Hobgoblins* are, where the Light is Darkness, where the Way is full of Snares, Pits, Traps, and Ginns. They told me also of *Gyant-Dispair*, of *Doubting-Castle*, and of the *Ruins* that the Pilgrims met with there. Further, They said, I must go over the enchanted Ground, which was dangerous. And that after all this, I should find a River, over which I should find no Bridg, and that that River did lie betwixt me and the Celestial Country. *The first Stumbling Block.*

Greath. *And was this all?*

Valiant. No, They also told me that this way was full of *Deceivers*, and of Persons that laid await there, to turn good men out of the Path. *The Second.*

Greath. *But how did they make that out?*

The Second.[1] *Valiant.* They told me that Mr. *Worldly-wise-man* did there lie in wait to deceive. They also said that there was *Formality* and *Hypocrisie* continually on the Road. They said also that *By-ends*, *Talkative*, or *Demas*, would go near to gather me up; That the Flatterer would catch me in his Net, or that with green-headed *Ignorance* I would presume to go on to the Gate, from whence he always was sent back to the Hole that was in the side of the Hill, and made to go the By-way to Hell.

Greath. *I promise you, This was enough to discourage. But did they make an end here?*

The Third.[2] *Valiant.* No, stay. They told me also of many that had tryed that way of old, and that had gone a great way therein, to see if they could find something of the Glory there, that so many had so much talked of from time to time; and how they came back again, and befooled themselves for setting a Foot out of Doors in that Path, to the Satisfaction of all the Country. And they named several that did so, as *Obstinate* and *Plyable*, *Mistrust*, and *Timorous*, *Turn-a-way*, and old *Atheist*, with several more; who, they said, had, some of them, gone far to see if they could find, but not one of them found so much Advantage by going, as amounted *to the weight of a Fether.*

Greath. *Said they any thing more to discourage you?*

The Fourth.[3] *Valiant.* Yes, they told me of one Mr. *Fearing*, who was a Pilgrim, and how *he* found this way so Solitary, that he never had comfortable Hour therein, also that Mr. *Despondency* had like to been starved therein; Yea, and also, which I had almost forgot, that *Christian* himself, about whom there has been such a Noise, after all his Ventures for a Celestial Crown, was certainly drowned in the

[1] Corrected to 'The Third,' 1687.
[2] Corrected to 'The Fourth,' 1687.
[3] Corrected to 'The Fifth,' 1687.

black River, and never went foot further, how ever it was smuthered up.

Greath. *And did none of these things discourage you?*

Valiant. No. They seemed but as so many No-things to me.

How he got over these stumbling-Blocks.

Greath. *How came that about?*

Valiant. Why, I still believed what Mr. *Tell-true* had said, and that carried me beyond them all.

Greath. *Then this was your Victory, even your Faith.*

Valiant. It was so, I believed and therefore came out, got into the Way, fought all that set themselves against me, and by believing am come to this Place.

Who would true Valour see,
Let him come hither;
One here will constant be,
Come Wind, come Weather.
There's no Discouragement,
Shall make him once Relent,
His first avow'd Intent,
To be a Pilgrim.

Who so beset him round,
With dismal Storys,
Do but themselves confound;
His Strength the more is.
No Lyon *can him fright,*
He'l with a Gyant *Fight,*
But he will have a right,
To be a Pilgrim.

Hobgoblin, *nor foul* Fiend,
Can daunt *his Spirit:*
He knows, he at the end,
Shall Life Inherit.

Then Fancies fly away,
He'l fear not what men say,
He'l labor Night and Day,
To be a Pilgrim.

1 *Part pag.* 237. [163]. By this time they were got to the *enchanted Ground*, where the Air naturally tended to make one *Drowzy*. And that place was all grown over with Bryers and Thorns; excepting *here* and *there*, where was an *inchanted Arbor*, upon which, if a Man sits, or in which if a man sleeps,'tis a question, say some, whether ever they shall rise or wake again in this World. Over this Forrest therefore they went, both one with an other, and Mr. *Great-heart* went before, for that he was the Guide, and Mr. *Valiant-for-truth*, he came behind, being there a Guard, for fear lest paradventure some *Fiend*, or *Dragon*, or *Gyant*, or *Thief*, should fall upon their Rere, and so do Mischief. They went on here each man with his Sword drawn in his Hand; for they knew it was a dangerous place. Also they cheared up one another as well as they could. *Feeble-mind*, Mr. *Great-heart* commanded should come up after him, and Mr. *Dispondency* was under the Eye of Mr. *Valiant*.

Now they had not gone far, but a great Mist and a Darkness fell upon them all; so that they could scarse, for a great while, see the one the other. Wherefore they were forced for some time, to feel for one another, by Words; for they walked not by Sight.

But any one must think, that here was but sorry going for the best of them all, but how much worse for the Women and Children, who both of *Feet* and *Heart* were but tender. Yet so it was, that, thorow the incouraging Words of he that led in the Front, and of him that brought them up behind, they made a pretty good shift to wagg along.

The Way also was here very weary-som thorow

Dirt and Slabbiness. Nor was there on *all* this Ground, so much as one *Inn* or *Victualling-House*, therein to refresh the feebler sort. Here therefore was *grunting*, and *puffing*, and *sighing:* While one tumbleth over a Bush, another sticks fast in the Dirt, and the Children, some of them, lost their Shoos in the Mire. While one crys out, I am down, and another, Ho, Where are you? and a third, the Bushes have got such fast hold on me, I think I cannot get away from them.

An Arbor on the Inchanting Ground.

Then they came at an *Arbor*, warm, and promising much Refreshing to the Pilgrims; for it was finely wrought above-head, beautified with *Greens*, furnished with *Benches* and *Settles*. It also had in it a soft Couch whereon the weary might lean. This, you must think, all things considered, was tempting; for the Pilgrims already began to be foyled with the badness of the way; but there was not one of them that made so much as a motion to stop there. Yea, for ought I could perceive, they continually gave so good heed to the Advice of their Guide, and he did so faithfully tell them of *Dangers*, and of the *Nature* of Dangers when they were at them, that usually when they were nearest to them, they did most pluck up their Spirits, and hearten one another to deny the Flesh. This *Arbor* was called *The sloathfuls Friend*, on purpose to allure, if it might be, some of the Pilgrims there, to take up their Rest, when weary.

The Name of the Arbor.

The Way difficult to find.

I saw then in my Dream, that they went on in this their *solitary* Ground, till they came to a place at which a man is apt to lose his Way. *Now*, tho when it was light, their Guide could well enough tell how to miss those ways that led wrong, yet in the dark he was put to a stand: But he had in his Pocket a Map of all ways leading to, or from the Celestial City; wherefore he strook a Light (for he never goes also without his Tinder-box) and takes

The Guide has a Map of all ways leading to or from the City.

a view of his Book or Map; which bids him be careful in that place to turn to the right-hand-way. And had he not here been careful to look in his Map, they had all, in probability, been smuthered in the Mud, for just a little before them, and that at the end of the cleanest Way too, was a Pit, none knows how deep, full of nothing but Mud, there made on purpose to destroy the Pilgrims in.

God's Book. Then thought I with my self, who, that goeth on Pilgrimage, but would have one of these Maps about him, that he may look when he is at a *stand*, which is the way he must take.

An Arbor and two asleep therein. They went on then in this *inchanted* Ground, till they came to where was an other *Arbor*, and it was built by the High-way-side. And in that *Arbor* there lay two men whose Names were *Heedless* and *Too-bold*. These two went thus far on Pilgrimage; but here being wearied with their Journy, they sat down to rest themselves, and so fell fast asleep. When the Pilgrims saw them, they stood still and shook their Heads; for they knew that the Sleepers were in a pitiful Case. Then they consulted what to do, whether to go on and leave them in their Sleep, or to step to them and try to awake them. So they concluded to go to them and wake them; that is, if they could; but with this Caution, namely, to take heed that themselves did not sit down nor imbrace the offered Benefit of that *Arbor*.

The Pilgrims try to wake them. So they went in and spake to the men, and called each by his Name, (for the Guide, it seems, did know them) but there was no Voice nor Answer. Then the Guide did shake them, and do what he could to disturb them. Then said one of them, *I will pay you when I take my Mony;* At which the Guide shook his Head. *I will fight so long as I can hold my Sword in my Hand*, said the other. At that, one of the Children laughed.

Then said *Christiana*, what is the meaning of this? The Guide said, *They talk in their Sleep.* If you strike them, beat them, or what ever else you do to them, they will answer you after this fashion; or as one of them said in old time, when the Waves of the Sea did beat upon him, and he slept as one upon the Mast of a Ship, *When I awake I will seek it again.* You know when men talk in their Sleeps, they say any thing; but their Words are not governed, either by Faith or Reason. There is an *Incoherencie* in their Words *now*, as there was before betwixt their going on Pilgrimage, and sitting down here. This then is the Mischief on't, when *heedless* ones go on Pilgrimage, 'tis twenty to one, but they are served thus. For this *inchanted* Ground is one of the last Refuges that the Enemy to Pilgrims has; wherefore it is as you see, placed almost at the end of the Way, and so it standeth against us with the more Advantage. For when, thinks the Enemy, will these Fools be so desirous to sit down, as when they are weary; and when so like to be weary, as when almost at their Journys end? Therefore it is, I say, that the *inchanted* Ground is placed so nigh to the Land *Beulah*, and so neer the end of their Race. Wherefore let Pilgrims look to themselves, lest it happen to them as it has done to these, that, as you see, are fallen asleep, and none can wake them.

Their Endeavour is fruitless.

Prov. 23. 34, 35.

Then the Pilgrims desired with trembling to go forward, only they prayed their Guide to strike a Light, that they might go the rest of their way by the help of the light of a Lanthorn. So he strook a light, and they went by the help of that thorow the rest of this way, tho the Darkness was very great.

The light of the Word.

2 Pet. 1. 19.

But the Children began to be sorely weary, and they cryed out unto him that loveth Pilgrims, to make their way more Comfortable. So by that

The Children cry for weariness.

they had gone a little further, a Wind arose that drove away the Fog, so the Air became more clear.

Yet they were not off (by much) of the *inchanted* Ground; only now they could see one another better, and the way wherein they should walk.

Now when they were almost at the end of this Ground, they perceived that a little before them, was a *solemn* Noise, as of one that was much concerned. So they went on and looked before them, and behold, they saw, as they thought, *a Man upon his Knees*, with Hands and Eyes lift up, and speaking, as they thought, earnestly to one that was above. They drew nigh, but could not tell what he said; so they went softly till he had done. When he had done, he got up and began to run towards the Celestial City. Then Mr. *Great-heart* called after him, saying, Soho, Friend, let us have your Company if you go, as I suppose you do, to the Celestial City. So the man stopped, and they came up to him. But so soon as Mr. *Honest* saw him, he said, I know this man. Then said Mr. *Valiant-for-truth*, Prethee, who is it? 'Tis one, said he, that comes from where-abouts I dwelt, his Name is *Stand-fast*, he is certainly a right good Pilgrim.

'[1] Standfast upon his Knees in the Inchanted Ground.'

The Story of Standfast.

So they came up one to another and presently *Stand-fast* said to old *Honest*, Ho, Father *Honest*, are you there? Ai, said he, that I am, as sure as you are there. Right glad am I, said Mr. *Standfast*, that I have found you on this Road. And as glad am I, said the other, that I espied you upon your Knees. Then Mr. *Stand-fast* blushed, and said, But why, did you see me? Yes, that I did, quoth the other, and with my Heart was glad at the Sight. Why, what did you think, said *Stand-fast?* Think, said old *Honest*, what should I think? I thought we had an honest Man upon the Road, and therefore should have his Company by and by. If

Talk betwixt him and Mr Honest.

[1] Added in 1687.

you thought not amiss, how happy am I? But if I be not as I should, I alone must bear it. That is true, said the other; But your fear doth further confirm me that things are right betwixt the Prince of Pilgrims and your Soul. For he saith, *Blessed is the Man that feareth always.*

Valiant. Well, But Brother, I pray thee tell us what was it that was the cause of thy being upon thy Knees, even now? Was it for that some special Mercy laid Obligations upon thee, or how? *They found him at prayer.*

Stand. Why we are as you see, upon the *inchanted Ground,* and as I was coming along, I was musing with my self of what a dangerous Road, the Road in this place was, and how many that had come even thus far on Pilgrimage, had here been stopt, and been destroyed. I thought also of the manner of the Death, with which this place destroyeth Men. Those that die here, die of no violent Distemper; the Death which such die, is not grievous to them. For he that goeth away in a *Sleep,* begins that Journey with Desire and Pleasure. Yea such acquiesce in the Will of that Disease. *What it was that fetched him upon his Knees.*

Hon. *Then Mr.* Honest *Interrupting of him said, did you see the two Men asleep in the Arbor?*

Stand. Ai, Ai, I saw *Heedless,* and *Too-bold* there; and for ought I know, there they will ly till they Rot. But let me go on in my Tale? As I was thus Musing, as I said, there was one in very pleasant Attire, *but old,* that presented herself unto me, and offered me three things, to wit, her *Body,* her *Purse,* and her *Bed.* Now the Truth is, I was both aweary and sleepy, I am also as poor as a *Howlet,* and that, perhaps, the *Witch* knew. Well, I repulsed her once and twice, but she put by my Repulses, and smiled. Then I began to be angry, but she mattered that nothing at all. Then she made Offers again, and said, If I would be ruled by Prov. 10. 7.

her, she would make me great and happy. For, said she, I am the Mistress of the World, and men are made happy by me. Then I asked her Name, and she told me it was *Madam Bubble*. This set me further from her; but she still followed me with Inticements. Then I betook me, as you see, to my Knees, and with Hands lift up, and crys, I pray'd to him that had said, he would help. So just as you came up, the Gentlewoman went her way. Then I continued to give thanks for this my great Deliverance; for I verily believe she intended no good, but rather sought to make stop of me in my Journey.

Madam Buble, or this vain World:

Hon. *Without doubt her Designs were bad. But stay, now you talk of her, methinks I either have seen her, or have read some story of her.*

Standf. Perhaps you have done both.

Hon. *Madam Buble! Is she not a tall comely Dame, something of a swarthy Complexion?*

Standf. Right, you hit it, she is just such an one.

Hon. *Doth she not speak very smoothly, and give you a Smile at the end of a Sentence?*

Standf. You fall right upon it again, for these are her very Actions.

Hon. *Doth she not wear a great Purse by her Side, and is not her Hand often in it, fingering her Mony, as if that was her Hearts delight?*

Standf. 'Tis just so. Had she stood by all this while, you could not more amply have set her forth before me, nor have better described her Features.

Hon. Then he that drew her Picture was a good *Limner*, and he that wrote of her, said true.

The World.

Greath. This Woman is a *Witch*, and it is by Virtue of her *Sorceries* that this Ground is *enchanted*; whoever doth lay their Head down in *her Lap*, had as good lay it down upon that Block over which the Ax doth hang; and whoever lay their Eyes upon her Beauty, are counted the Enemies of God.

Jam 4. 4. 1 John 2. 15.

This is she that maintaineth in their Splendor, all those that are the Enemies of Pilgrims. Yea, This is she that has bought off many a man from a Pilgrims Life. She is a great *Gossiper*, she is always, both she and her Daughters, at one Pilgrim's Heels or other, now Commending, and then preferring the excellencies of this Life. She is a bold and impudent Slut; She will talk with any Man. She always laugheth poor Pilgrims to scorn, but highly commends the Rich. If there be one cunning to get Mony in a Place, she will speak well of him, from House to House. She loveth Banqueting, and Feasting, mainly well; she is always at one full Table or another. She has given it out in some places, that she is a Goddess, and therefore some do Worship her. She has her times and open places of Cheating, and she will say and avow it, that none can shew a Good comparable to hers. She promiseth to dwell with Childrens Children, if they will but love and make much of her. She will cast out of her Purse, Gold like Dust, in some places, and to some Persons. She loves to be sought after, spoken well of, and to ly in the Bosoms of Men. She is never weary of commending her Commodities, and she loves them most that think best of her. She will promise to some Crowns, and Kingdoms, if they will but take her Advice, yet many has she brought to the Halter, and ten thousand times more to Hell.

Standf. *O! said* Stand-fast, *What a Mercy is it that I did resist her: for whither might she a drawn me?*

Greath. Whither! Nay, none but God knows whither. But in general to be sure, she would a drawn thee *into many foolish and hurtful Lusts,* 1 Tim. 6. 9. *which drown men in Destruction and Perdition.*

'Twas she that set *Absalom* against his Father, and *Jeroboam* against his Master. 'Twas she that

persuaded *Judas* to sell his Lord, and that prevailed with *Demas* to forsake the Godly Pilgrims Life; none can tell of the Mischief that she doth. She makes Variance betwixt Rulers and Subjects, betwixt Parents and Children, 'twixt Neighbor and Neighbor, 'twixt a Man and his Wife, 'twixt a Man and himself, 'twixt the Flesh and the Heart.

Wherefore good Master *Stand-fast*, be as your Name is, and when you have done all *stand*.

At this Discourse there was among the Pilgrims a mixture of Joy and Trembling, but at length *they brake* out and Sang.

What Danger is the Pilgrim in?
How many are his Foes?
How many ways there are to Sin,
No living Mortal knows.
Some of the Ditch shy are, yet can
Lie tumbling on the Myre.
Some tho they shun the Frying-pan,
Do leap into the Fire.

1 Part, pag. 270, 271. [183.]

After this I beheld, until they were come unto the Land of *Beulah*, where the Sun shineth Night and Day. Here, because they was weary, they betook themselves a while to Rest. And because this Country was common for Pilgrims, and because the Orchards and Vinyards that were here, belonged to the King of the Celestial Country; therefore they were licensed to make bold with any of his things.

But a little while soon refreshed them here, for the Bells did so ring, and the Trumpets continually sound so melodiously, that they could not sleep, and yet they received as much refreshing, as if they had slept their Sleep never so soundly. Here also all the noise of them that walked the Streets, was, *More Pilgrims are come to Town.* And an other

would answer, saying, And so many went over the Water, and were let in at the Golden Gates to Day. They would cry again, There is now a Legion of Shining ones, just come to Town; by which we know that there are more Pilgrims upon the Road, for here they come to wait for them, and to comfort them after all their Sorrow. Then the Pilgrims got up and walked to and fro: But how were their Ears now filled with heavenly Noises, and their Eyes delighted with Celestial Visions? In this Land, they *heard* nothing, *saw* nothing, *felt* nothing, *smelt* nothing, *tasted* nothing, that was offensive to their Stomach or Mind; only when they tasted of the Water of the River, over which they were to go, they thought that tasted a little Bitterish to the Palat, but it proved sweeter when 'twas down.

Death bitter to the Flesh, but sweet to the Soul.

In this place there was a Record kept of the Names of them that had been Pilgrims of old, and a History of all the famous Acts that they had done. It was here also much discoursed how the *River* to some had had its *flowings*, and what *ebbings* it has had while others have gone over. It has been in a manner *dry* for some, while it has overflowed its Banks for others.

Death has its Ebbings and Flowings like the Tide.

In this place, the Children of the Town would go into the Kings Gardens and gather Nose-gaies for the Pilgrims, and bring them to them with much Affection. Here also grew *Camphire* with *Spicknard*, and *Saffron*, *Calamus*, and *Cinamon*, with all its Trees of *Frankincense*, *Myrrhe*, and *Aloes*, with all *chief* Spices. With these the Pilgrims Chambers were perfumed, while they stayed here; and with these were their Bodys anointed to prepare them to go over the *River* when the time appointed was come.

Now, while they lay here, and waited for the good Hour; there was a Noyse in the Town, that there was a *Post* come from the Celestial City, with

A Messenger of Death sent to Christiana.

Matter of great Importance, to one *Christiana*, the Wife of *Christian* the Pilgrim. So Enquiry was made for her, and the House was found out where she was, so the Post presented her with a Letter; The Contents whereof was, *Hail, Good Woman, I bring thee Tidings that the Master calleth for thee, and expecteth that thou shouldest stand in his Presence, in Cloaths of Immortality, within this ten Days.*

His Message.

When he had read this Letter to her, he gave her therewith a sure Token that he was a true Messenger, and was come to bid her make hast to be gone. The Token was, *An Arrow with a Point sharpened with Love, let easily into her Heart, which by degrees wrought so effectually with her, that at the time appointed she must be gone.*

How welcome is Death to them that have nothing to do but to dy.

When *Christiana* saw that her time was come, and that she was the first of this Company that was to go over: She called for Mr. *Great-heart* her Guide, and told him how Matters were. So he told her he was heartily glad of the News, and could a been glad had the Post came for him. Then she bid that he should give Advice how all things should be prepared for her Journey.

Her Speech to her Guide.

So he told her, saying, Thus and thus it must be, and we that Survive will accompany you to the River-side.

Then she called for her Children, and gave them *her Blessing;* and told them that she yet read with Comfort the Mark that was set in their Foreheads, and was glad to see them with her there, and that they had kept their Garments so white. Lastly, She bequeathed to the Poor that little she had, and commanded her Sons and her Daughters to be ready against the Messenger should come for them.

To her Children.

When she had spoken these Words to her Guide and to her Children, she called for Mr. *Valiant-for-truth*, and said unto him, Sir, You have in all places shewed your self true-hearted, be Faithful unto

To Mr. Valiant.

Death, and my King will give you a Crown of Life. I would also intreat you to have an Eye to my Children, and if at any time you see them faint, speak comfortably to them. For my Daughters, my Sons Wives, they have been Faithful, and a fulfilling of the Promise upon them, will be their end. But she gave Mr. *Stand-fast* a Ring. *To Mr.* Stand-fast.

Then she called for old Mr. *Honest*, and said of him, Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no Guile. Then said *he*, I wish you a fair Day when you set out for Mount *Sion*, and shall be glad to see that you go over the River dry-shod. But she answered, Come *Wet*, come *Dry*, I long to be gone; for however the Weather is in my Journey, I shall have time enough when I come there to sit down and rest me, and dry me. *To old* Honest.

Then came in that good Man Mr: *Ready-to-halt* to see her. So she said to him, Thy Travel hither has been with Difficulty, but that will make thy Rest the sweeter. But watch, and be ready, for at an Hour when you think not, the Messenger may come. *To Mr.* Ready-to-halt.

After him, came in Mr. *Despondencie*, and his Daughter *Much-a-fraid*. To whom she said, You ought with Thankfulness for ever, to remember your Deliverance from the Hands of Gyant *Dispair*, and out of *Doubting-Castle*. The effect of that Mercy is, that you are brought with Safety hither. Be ye watchful, and cast away Fear; be sober, and hope to the End. *To* Dispondencie *and his Daughter.*

Then she said to Mr. *Feeble-Mind*, Thou was delivered from the Mouth of Gyant *Slay-good*, that thou mightest live in the Light of the Living for ever, and see thy King with Comfort. Only I advise thee to repent thee of thy aptness to fear and doubt of his Goodness before he sends for thee, lest thou shouldest when he comes, be forced to stand before him for that Fault with Blushing. *To* Feeble-mind.

Her last Day, and manner of Departure. Now the Day drew on that *Christiana* must be gone. So the Road was full of People to see her take her Journey. But behold all the Banks beyond the River were full of Horses and Chariots, which were come down from above to accompany her to the City-Gate. So she came forth and entered the *River*, with a *Beck'n* of Fare well, to those that followed her to the River side. The last word she was heard to say here, was, *I come Lord, to be with thee and bless thee.*

So her Children and Friends returned to their Place, for that those that waited for *Christiana*, had carried her out of their Sight. So she went, and called, and entered in at the Gate with all the Ceremonies of Joy that her Husband *Christian* had done before her.

At her Departure her Children wept, but Mr. *Great-heart*, and Mr. *Valiant*, played upon the well tuned Cymbal and Harp for Joy. So all departed to their respective Places.

In process of time there came a *Post* to the Town again, and his Business was with Mr. *Ready-to-halt*. So he enquired him out, and said to him, I am come to thee in the Name of him whom thou hast Loved and Followed, tho upon *Crutches*. And my Message is to tell thee, that he expects thee at his Table to Sup with him in his Kingdom the next Day after *Easter*. Wherefore prepare thy self for this Journey.

Ready-to-halt Summoned.

Then he also gave him a Token that he was a true Messenger, saying, *I have broken thy golden Bowl*, and loosed *thy silver Cord.*

Eccles. 12. 6.

After this, Mr. *Ready-to-halt* called for his Fellow Pilgrims, and told them, saying, I am sent for, and God shall surely visit you also. So he desired Mr. *Valiant* to make his *Will*. And because he had nothing to bequeath to them that should Survive

him, but his *Crutches*, and his good *Wishes*, therefore thus he said. *These Crutches, I bequeath to my Son that shall tread in my Steps, with an hundred warm Wishes that he may prove better than I have done.* *Promises. His Will.*

Then he thanked Mr. *Great-heart* for his Conduct, and Kindness, and so addressed himself to his Journey. When he came at the brink of the River, he said, Now I shall have no more need of these *Crutches*, since yonder are Chariots and Horses for me to ride on. The last Words he was heard to say, was, *Welcome Life.* So he went his Way. *His last Words.*

After this, Mr. *Feeble-mind* had Tidings brought him, that the Post sounded his Horn at his Chamber Door. Then he came in and told him, saying, I am come to tell thee that thy Master has need of thee, and that in very little time thou must behold his Face in Brightness. And take this as a Token of the Truth of my Message. *Those that look out at the Windows shall*[1] *be darkened.* *Feeble-mind Summoned.* Eccles 12. 3.

Then Mr. *Feeble-mind* called for his Friends, and told them what Errand had been brought unto him, and what Token he had received of the truth of the Message. Then he said, Since I have nothing to bequeath to any, to what purpose should I make a Will? As for my *feeble Mind*, that I will leave behind me, for that I have no need of that in the place whither I go; nor is it worth bestowing upon the poorest Pilgrim: Wherefore when I am gon, I desire, that you, Mr. *Valiant*, would bury it in a Dunghil. This done, and the Day being come, in which he was to depart; he entered the *River* as the rest. His last Words were, *Hold out Faith and Patience.* So he went over to the other Side. *He makes no Will.* *His last Words.*

When Days, had many of them passed away; Mr. *Dispondencie* was sent for. For a *Post* was come and brought this Message to him. *Trembling* *Mr. Dispondencie's Summons.*

[1] '*shall be,*' continued in all editions.

Man, These are to summon thee to be ready with thy King, by the next Lords Day, to shout for Joy for thy Deliverance from all thy Doubtings.

And said the Messenger, That my Message is true, take this for a Proof. So he gave him *The Grasshopper to be a Burthen unto him.* Now Mr. *Dispondencie*'s Daughter, whose Name was *Much-a-fraid*, said, when she heard what was done, that she would go with her Father. Then Mr. *Dispondencie* said to his Friends; Myself, and my Daughter, you know what we have been, and how troublesomely we have behaved our selves in every Company. My will and my Daughters is, That our *Disponds*, and slavish Fears, be by no man ever received, from the day of our *Departure*, for ever; For I know that after my Death they will offer themselves to others. For, to be plain with you, they are Ghosts, the which we entertained when we first began to be Pilgrims, and could never shake them off after. And they will walk about and seek Entertainment of the Pilgrims, but for our Sakes, shut ye the Doors upon them.

Eccles. 12. 5. *His Daughter goes too.*

His Will.

When the time was come for them to depart, they went to the Brink of the *River*. The last Words of Mr. *Dispondencie*, were, *Farewel Night, Welcome Day.* His Daughter went thorow the River singing, but none could understand what she said.

His last Words.

Then it came to pass, a while after, that there was a *Post* in the Town that enquired for Mr. *Honest.* So he came to his House where he was, and delivered to his Hand these Lines. *Thou art Commanded to be ready against this Day seven Night, to present thy self before thy Lord, at his Fathers House.* And for a Token that my Message is true, *All* [2] *thy Daughters of Musick shall be brought low.* Then *Mr. Honest* called for his Friends, and said unto them, I

Mr. Honest *Summoned.*

Eccles. 12. 4.

[2] Corrected to 'All the,' soon after Bunyan's decease.

Die, but shall make no Will. As for my Honesty, it shall go with me; let him that comes after be told of this. When the Day that he was to be gone, was come, he addressed himself to go over the *River*. Now the *River* at that time overflowed the Banks in some places. But *Mr. Honest* in his Life time had spoken to one *Good-conscience* to meet him there, the which he also did, and lent him his Hand, and so helped him over. The last Words of Mr. *Honest* were, *Grace Reigns*. So he left the World.

He makes no Will.

Good-conscience helps Mr. Honest over the River.

After this, it was noised abroad that Mr. *Valiant-for-truth* was taken with a Summons, by the same *Post* as the other; and had this for a Token that the Summons was true, *That his Pitcher was broken at the Fountain*. When he understood it, he called for his Friends, and told them of it. Then said he, I am going to my Fathers, and tho with great Difficulty I am got hither, yet now I do not repent me of all the Trouble I have been at to arrive where I am. *My Sword*, I give to him that shall succeed me in my Pilgrimage, and my *Courage* and *Skill*, to him that can get it. My *Marks* and *Scarrs* I carry with me, to be a Witness for me, that I have fought his Battels, who now will be my Rewarder. When the Day that he must go hence, was come, many accompanied him to the River side, into which, as he went, he said. *Death, where is thy Sting?* And as he went down deeper, he said, *Grave, where is thy Victory?* So he passed over, and all the Trumpets sounded for him on the other side.

Mr. Valiant Summoned.

Eccles. 12. 6.

His Will.

His last Words.

Then there came forth a Summons for Mr. *Stand-fast*, (This Mr. *Stand-fast*, was he that the rest of the Pilgrims found upon his Knees in the *inchanted* Ground.) For the *Post* brought it him open in his Hands. The Contents whereof were,

Mr. Stand-fast is Summoned.

That he must prepare for a Change of Life, for his Master was not willing that he should be so far from him any longer. At this Mr. *Stand-fast* was put into a Muse; Nay, said the Messenger, you need not doubt of the Truth of my Message; for here is a Token of the Truth thereof, *Thy Wheel is broken at the Cistern.* Then he called to him Mr. *Great-heart*, who was their Guide, and said unto him, Sir, Altho it was not my hap to be much in your good Company in the Days of my Pilgrimage, yet since the time I knew you, you have been profitable to me. When I came from home, I left behind me a Wife, and five small Children. Let me entreat you, at your Return, (for I know that you will go, and return to your Masters House, in Hopes that you may yet be a Conductor to more of the Holy Pilgrims,) that you send to my Family, and let them be acquainted with all that hath, and shall happen unto me. Tell them moreover, of my happy Arrival to this Place, and of the present late blessed Condition that I am in. Tell them also of *Christian* and *Christiana* his Wife, and how *She* and her Children came after her Husband. Tell them also of what a happy End she made, and whither she is gone. I have little or nothing to send to my Family, except it be Praiers, and Tears for them; of which it will suffice, if thou acquaint them, if peradventure they may prevail. When *Mr. Stand-fast* had thus set things in order, and the time being come for him to hast him away; he also went down to the River. Now there was a great Calm at that time in the River, wherefore *Mr. Stand-fast*, when he was about half way in, he stood a while and talked to his Companions that had waited upon him thither. And he said,

Eccl. 12. 6.

He calls for Mr. Great-Heart.

His Speech to him.

His Errand to his Family.

His last Words.

This River has been a Terror to many, yea the thoughts of it also have often frighted me. But

now methinks I stand easie, my Foot is fixed upon that, upon which the Feet of the Priests that bare the Ark of the Covenant, stood while *Israel* went over this *Jordan*. The Waters indeed are to the Palate bitter, and to the Stomack cold; yet the thoughts of what I am going to, and of the Conduct that waits for me on the other side, doth lie as a glowing Coal at my Heart. Jos. 3. 17.

I see my self now at the *end* of my Journey, my *toilesom* Days are ended. I am going now to see *that* Head that was Crowned with Thorns, and *that* Face that was spit upon, for me.

I have formerly lived by Hear-say, and Faith, but now I go where I shall live by sight, and shall be with him, in whose Company I delight my self.

I have loved to hear my Lord spoken of, and wherever I have seen the print of his Shooe in the Earth, there I have coveted to set my Foot too.

His Name has been to me as a *Civit-Box*, yea, sweeter than all Perfumes. His Voice to me has been most sweet, and his Countenance, I have more desired then they that have most desired the Light of the Sun. His Word I did use to gather for my Food, and for Antidotes against my Faintings. He has held me, and I have kept me from mine Iniquities: Yea, my Steps hath he strengthened in his Way.

Now while he was thus in Discourse, his Countenance changed, his *strong man* bowed under him, and after he had said, *Take me, for I come unto thee*, he ceased to be seen of them.

But Glorious it was, to see how the open Region was filled with Horses and Chariots, with Trumpeters and Pipers, with Singers, and Players on stringed Instruments, to welcome the Pilgrims as they went up, and followed one another in at the beautiful Gate of the City.

As for *Christian*'s Children, the four Boys that *Christiana* brought with her, with their Wives and Children, I did not stay where I was, till they were gone over. Also since I came away, I heard one say, that they were yet alive, and so would be for the Increase of the Church in that Place where they were for a time.

Shall it be my Lot to go that way again I may give those that desire it, an Account of what I here am silent about; mean time I bid my Reader *Adieu.*

FINIS.

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* Probably arising from Bunyan's having heard of Dr. Donne's learned treatise to prove that self-homicide is not always sinful. 1644.

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